

A COMPARATIVE LEXICAL ANALYSIS OF UNIFIED KICHWA AND AGUALONGO  
DE PAREDES KICHWA

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By

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## **Abstract**

This thesis analyzes two Kichwa language varieties; a community variety spoken in the community of Agualongo located in the Ecuadorian province of Imbabura, and Unified Kichwa, a standardized variety of Kichwa, to demonstrate their lexical and phonological differences. Due to the differences between these two language varieties, conflicts have arisen between advocates of Unified Kichwa and speakers of community varieties of Kichwa as the former attempt to standardize language and the latter attempts to retain its linguistic distinctions. One of the biggest criticisms of Unified Kichwa is that it attempts to homogenize the language, which could be better described a continuum of language varieties/ dialects, with rich and diverse lexical and phonological innovations. However, the biggest controversy are the attempts by language purists (proponents of Unified Kichwa) to replace all of the Spanish borrowings, which make up a substantial portion of Kichwa vocabulary in community varieties, with unfamiliar neologisms. Consequently, speakers of community Kichwa varieties, especially elders, have problems learning or even accepting the standardization of their language due its unintelligibility and disregard of those that actually speak the language.

This thesis aims to bring to light the differences and similarities in the Agualongo Kichwa and Unified Kichwa lexica, semantics, and pronunciation. Results suggest that differences make the Unified system more complicated than simply adopting prescriptivist norms that are used in formal settings. It also suggests that such differences are likely at the root of conflicts between speakers of Community dialects Kichwa, especially elders, who are reluctant to accept the new variety of their language. Finally, this thesis argues that the pressure of unifying the Kichwa dialects of Ecuador could hinder and eventually stamp out the dialectal richness found across the country.

Keywords: Kichwa, Spanish, lexicon, neologisms, revitalizing.

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Pagui shungumanda! Yupaychani shunkumanta!

## **Dedication**

From my heart, this thesis is for my family, friends, and all indigenous communities of Imbabura for their teachings about oral memories, traditions, culture values and language (Kichwa).

Kikinkunaman kay tesistami dedicapani kikin yachikunamanta runakawsaymanta, shimimanta shinallata kikin yuyaykunata karashkamanta.

## **List of Abbreviations**

QII – Quechua II

INEC – Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censo National Institute of Statistics and Census)

IK – Imbabura Kichwa

CONAIE - Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador)

DINEIB - Dirección Nacional de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe (Directorate of Bilingual and Intercultural Education)

UK - Unified Kichwa

CK - Community Kichwa

ACK – Agualongo Community Kichwa

EBI - Educación Bilingüe Intercultural (Intercultural Bilingual Education)

ALKI - Academia de la Lengua Kichwa (Kichwa Language Academy)

CIEI - Centro de Investigaciones Educativas Indígenas (Center for Indigenous Educational Research)

DIPEIB - Dirección Provincial de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe (Provincial Directorate of Bilingual Intercultural Education)

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# 1 Introduction

Kichwa<sup>1</sup> (or Quichua) is an umbrella term for a language continuum spoken by around 591,500 people in Ecuador (INEC, 2010). Kichwa has a high degree of dialectal variation because its speakers cover a geographic region that extends from the Andes mountains to the Amazonian jungle; a vast dispersion over rugged terrain that is ideal for linguistic divergence. (Wroblewski, 2012) groups Ecuadorian Kichwa into eight “macro” dialects, five in the Andean region and three in the Amazon region. However, one feature that all these varieties have in common is that they are highly influenced by Spanish, due to their constant contact with this language since European colonization began about 500 years ago (Acosta, 2017). The Spanish spoken in Ecuador has also been influenced by Kichwa, but since Spanish has been the dominant language since colonialization and Kichwa speakers have been forced to learn Spanish in order to gain access to education, employment, and public service opportunities, Spanish has played a larger role in language change on Kichwa. Indeed, Ecuador’s Mestizo<sup>2</sup> population, who are often monolingual L1 Spanish speakers, have traditionally frowned upon the Indigenous populations and their languages because they deem them inferior and undignified (Aguado et al., 2018). Consequently, many Kichwa speakers are discriminated against for speaking their language.

Continued discrimination eventually led to a Unified Kichwa movement that aimed to develop and implement a standardized language for political and educational purposes in 1981 (K. King & Haboud, 2010). This movement saw standardizing Kichwa as a strategy to promote

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<sup>1</sup> I opt for the Unified spelling of the language name Kichwa because it is a form of recognition of the written form adapted to the communities, the media, the Ecuadorian Constitution, and Bilingual Education.

<sup>2</sup> Mestizo is a term used in Ecuador to refer to individuals of Indian and European descent after colonization. They have adopted European dress and customs. There are also some Ecuadorians who only speak Spanish but consider themselves Indigenous

cultural legitimacy within the socio-political institutions of Ecuador, and, as a result of this movement, the new Ecuadorian constitution of 2008 recognized Kichwa as a second official language and recognized its intercultural importance (Ecuador, 2008). However, the Ecuadorian state has not encouraged the use of regional or community dialects, which number in the hundreds, but instead promotes a highly artificial standardized variety known as ‘Unified Kichwa’.

The community dialects of Kichwa differ from Unified Kichwa specifically in their lexica as Unified Kichwa has attempted to remove the Spanish influence that has been so intertwined with Kichwa for the last 500 years. Due to the extensive contact between Kichwa and Spanish, as well as the socio-political prestige of the latter as the national language, Kichwa dialects have an exceedingly high number of lexical borrowings of Spanish origin. In an effort to decolonize Kichwa, the creators of Unified Kichwa have established the ‘purification’ of Kichwa as their primary goal. During this process, their objective was to replace Spanish borrowings with neologisms to create a ‘purer’ form of Kichwa. Unfortunately, this has created a highly artificial language that has caused a social division between speakers; those who want to maintain Community Kichwa in its current state and those who want Unified Kichwa to replace community varieties (Wroblewski, 2012). Due to strong governmental support for the creation of a unified Kichwa, the unification process has undermined local varieties in Kichwa communities rather than revitalizing them. Government authorities have not been overly concerned with Ecuador’s Indigenous communities during the creation of the unified language, nor have they studied the effects that the unification process has had on its vitality in the communities.

To date, there are no rigorous studies that compare the lexica of Unified Kichwa and Community Kichwa varieties. This study, therefore, focuses on the lexical, phonological, and semantic differences between Kichwa spoken in an Indigenous community and Unified Kichwa.

The community variety chosen for this study comes from community of Agualongo (henceforth Agualongo Kichwa), located in the Ecuadorian province of Imbabura in the county of Antonio Ante (San Roque parish). The methods used in this study are primarily quantitative and involve an extensive word list compiled specifically to compare the differences and similarities in the vocabulary used in both varieties.

The specific research questions that are addressed in this study are as follows:

1. How many cognate words exist between Agualongo Kichwa and Unified Kichwa?
2. Of these cognates, how many exhibit differences in orthography, which could affect pronunciation?
3. In both varieties of Kichwa, how many words are of Spanish origin?
  - a. Are there differences in the distribution of Spanish loanwords among nouns, verbs, and adjectives (the three most common parts of speech in Agualongo Kichwa and Unified Kichwa)?
  - b. How many Spanish loanwords in Agualongo Kichwa correspond to neologisms in Unified Kichwa?
4. What can semantic categories tell us about words originating from Spanish vs. native Kichwa with respect to borrowings trends and attempts at unification through neologisms?

Based on the existing literature discussed in Section 1.2 and the author's own experience as a member of the Kichwa community in question, this study hypothesizes that Unified Kichwa and the Agualongo Kichwa have lexical and phonological differences substantial enough that

Unified Kichwa is unintelligible to Agualongo Kichwa speakers who are not explicitly taught Unified Kichwa.

The following sections provide a review of the relevant current academic literature (§2), a description of the methodology (§3) and results (§4), and a wider discussion of the results (§5). The literature review will also provide a basic linguistic description of Kichwa, its historical development, and the creation of Unified Kichwa. Secondly, the methods section will describe how the wordlists were created and show the criteria chosen to analyze the data gathered in the study. Finally, the last two sections include the results of the study and a discussion focused on this study's research questions and objectives.

## 2 Literature review

### 2.1 Ecuadorian Kichwa

Kichwa is the most widely spoken ancestral language in Ecuador (Enríquez Duque, 2015), and the language is part of the greater Quechuan language family, which can be traced back to the Quechua II branch of Proto-Quechua (Adelaar & Muysken, 2004). According to Adelaar and Muysken (2004), Proto-Quechua contains two main branches: Quechua I, spoken in Central Peru; and Quechua II, spoken throughout the rest of the former Incan Empire, known in Quechua as *Tawantinsuyu* (Cerrón-Palomino, 1987). (Torero, 2007) points out that Ecuadorian Kichwa is the result of the introduction of two varieties of Quechua II: general Quechua (known as ‘Chinchay’) from the coastal region and Incan Quechua from Cuzco [as cited in (Ciucci & Muysken, 2011)]. In contrast, the southern variety (QII-C) includes the dialects of Cuzco, and those spoken in southern Peru, Bolivia, Chile, and Argentina (Cerrón-Palomino, 1987). Figure 2-1 shows the linguistic classifications of Quechua and the geographical areas in which they are spoken in South America.

Figure 2-1: *Quechua Dialect Groups Based on (Adelaar & Muysken, 2004)*

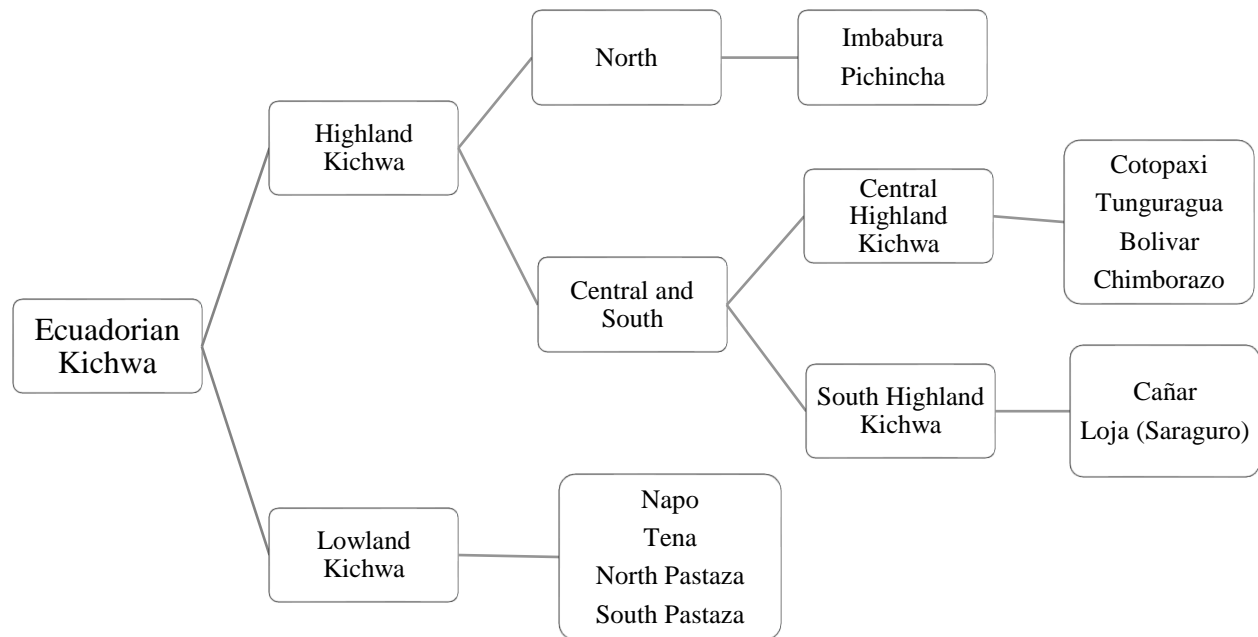


Before the arrival of the Incas and Spaniards into what is now modern-day Ecuador, the region had a large diversity of Indigenous languages known as pre-Incan languages (Paz & Miño, 1961). These languages belonged to different ethnic groups that settled in the coastal region, Andean highlands, and Amazonian regions. In the region now known as Imbabura, Kara (also known as Caranqui) and Kíto (as known as Panzáleo), now extinct Barbacoan languages, were spoken and are thought to have influenced Imbabura Kichwa to some degree (Loukotka, 1968). With the arrival of the Incas, many of the pre-Incan languages disappeared as the Incas forced their vassals to learn and use Quechua in order to consolidate a nation with the greatest possible unity ((Paz & Miño, 1961).



In 1532, Spanish conquerors arrived in what is now modern-day Ecuador and expanded throughout the Incan Empire (known as *Tahuantinsuyo*, which translates to '[with] four regions'). They observed that Quechua was the most common lingua franca among the Indigenous populations. As such, they spread it to regions where even the Incan Empire had not forced the usage of the language (Paz & Miño, 1961, pp. 41-42). At the beginning of the colonial era, the inhabitants of the Sierra region of the Andean Highlands were not Quechua speakers and used other languages from the Barbacoan and Chicham (previously known as Jivaroan languages) families that were spoken throughout the region (Cieza de León, 2005). At that time, Quechua was used by the elites and spoken as a second language in rural areas, but between 1550 and 1800, Quechua began to be spoken throughout the Sierra Region as a lingua franca (Ciucci & Muysken, 2011). Over time, Kichwa gradually divided into two main dialects in Ecuador, that of the Highlands (Andes) and that of the Lowlands (Amazonian) (Gómez-Rendón, 2008). Subsequently, however, considerable dialectal variations appeared: for instance, in the northern highlands, the word for 'eye' is *ñawi* and often pronounced as [ɲaβi] while in the lowlands it is pronounced as [nilon]. Figure 2-2 provides a categorization of the Kichwa dialects spoken in Ecuador by Gómez Rendón (2008).

Figure 2-2: Ecuadorean Kichwa Dialects Based on Gómez-Rendón J, (2008)



As of 2010, Ecuador had a population of 14,483,499 inhabitants (INEC, 2010). Of this, 1,018,176 people self-identify as Indigenous, and 730,104 people identified as speakers of Kichwa (Fernández, 2010). However, it is possible to find a number of different indigenous groups within the Kichwa nationality, such as, the Pastos, Natabuela, Otavalo, Karanki, Kayambi, Kitucara, Panzaleo, Chibuleo, Salasaca, Kisapincha, Tomabela, Waranka, Puruha, Kañari, Saraguro, Paltas, among others. These groups are located throughout the highland provinces of Imbabura, Pichincha, Cotopaxi, Tungurahua, Chimborazo, Bolívar, Cañar, Azuay, Loja, parts of the Amazon, Napo, and Tena.

### 2.1.1 Language Contact

During the 20th century, contact between Kichwa and Spanish in the Andean highlands increased for three primary reasons: (1) the *hacienda* system, which involved extensive land holdings and

made use of almost slave-like labour conditions for many Indigenous populations; (2) migration from rural areas to urban centers; (3) the imposition of the Spanish language in schools, media, and everyday life.

The *hacienda* ‘ranch’ (*huasipungo* in Kichwa) system was a form of systematic oppression applied to Indigenous people who worked for Spanish or Mestizo landowners to get a piece of land after several years of working for them. The system was passed down from generation to generation until its abolition in 1918. This system affected Kichwa culture by making the acquisition of Spanish necessary in order to communicate with landowners (Yépez Tacto, 2011)

The Kichwa populations were allowed to possess small pieces of land known as *minifundios*, and, as a result, they started to commute between their farms and the big cities so they could sell their products from the Highlands to other regions such as the Coast and Amazon, as well as in big cities such as Guayaquil and Quito (Doughty, 1979). The Kichwa did this for better economic opportunities and to improve their quality of life, but, as (Velupillai, 2015) explains, this migration brought intense contact between Spanish and Kichwa speakers along with discrimination<sup>3</sup> against Kichwa speakers. Subsequently, Kichwa was considered a language that only *Indios* ‘Indians’ (a discriminatory term used to refer to Indigenous peoples) spoke, (Vilupillai, 2015).

Due to the languages having extensive contact with each other, Kichwa adopted a large number of lexical borrowings from Spanish that have permeated nearly every semantic category, from farming to the economy, and substantial changes in its grammatical systems (Gómez-

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<sup>3</sup> Spanish as a prestige language of Ecuador was required language to acquire services, to buy and sell goods, and even to educate their children. Indigenous families started to avoid the Kichwa language in public spaces to avoid discrimination by Spanish speakers (Enríquez Duque, 2015).

Rendón, 2007). This can be seen in Gómez-Rendón and Adelaar (2007. p. 16) who further breakdown this statement into semantic categories. They show that words describing the *modern world* (72%) and *religious* (66%) had the highest number of borrowings. They also show that *clothing and grooming, the house, kinship, basic actions and technology, and law* had moderate degrees of borrowings while *quality, emotions and values, and the physical word* were all shown to have low degree of borrowings. The categories of *food and drink, agriculture and vegetation, animals, and possession* were on the verge of having moderate degrees of borrowings. However, these distributions are far from homogenous from community to community and Gómez-Rendón and Adelaar do not actually specify in which community or communities they collected their data. In fact, in the province of Imbabura, communities around Lake San Pablo have created a mixed language called *Media Lengua* in which an estimated 90% of the entire Kichwa vocabulary has been replaced by Spanish lexical items (see, e.g., Gómez-Rendón, 2005, 2008; Muysken & Olbertz, 2005; Stewart, 2015, 2018; Stewart et al., 2020).

Example (**Error! Reference source not found.a**) illustrates borrowed Spanish words (in bold) that Imbabura Kichwa speakers use, including Spanish nouns such as *computadora* ‘computer’, which is *cumputadura* in community Kichwa and *deber* ‘homework’, which is *dibir* in community Kichwa.

## 1. Borrowed Spanish words

- a            *Ñukapa churika paypa **dibirta cumputadorapi** rurana kan.*  
               Ñuka-pa   churi-ka   pay-pa   **dibir**-ta                    **cumputadora**-pi   rura-na   ka-n  
               1-POSS   son-TOP   3-POSS   **homework**-ACC   **computer**-LOC   do-INF   be-3  
               ‘My son has to do his homework on the computer.’

The following example (1b), from (Gómez-Rendón, 2007, p. 10) shows a lexical item, in this case the use of the Spanish modifier *tal vez* ‘perhaps’ that appears in Kichwa as *tálbis* (in bold).

b

*Payka mancharishpa **talbis** uyanka taytakunata.*

pay-ka manchari-shpa **talbis** uya-nka tayta-kuna-ta

3-TOP scare-GER **perhaps** listen-3s.FUT parent-PL-ACC

‘If he/she gets scared perhaps he/she will listen to his/her parents’.

Example 0 shows code-

switching from Kichwa to Spanish words to talk about the name of the food dish known in Spanish as *papas con pepa de Sambo* ‘potatoes with sambo seeds’ (in bold). After the speaker said the name of the dish, the speaker switched back to Kichwa.

## 2. Code-Switching

*Rishun wasiman papas con pepa de sambo mikunkapa.*

ri-shun wasi-man papas con pepa de sambo miku-nkapa

go-FUT house-DIR potatoes with sambo seeds eat-PURP

‘Let’s go home to eat potatoes with sambo seeds’

### 2.1.2 Imbabura Kichwa

In the Northern Highland of Ecuador, Kichwa speakers mainly inhabit the province of Imbabura, where 39% of the population speaks Kichwa (INEC, 2010). Kichwa is spoken in the rural communities and some parts of the urban areas of Otavalo, Cotacachi, Atuntaqui, and Ibarra. According to Stark et al. 1973, (quoted in Cole, 1982), Imbabura Kichwa is divided into five subdialects (see Figure 2-3):

- (1) from Cayambe through San Pablo and from the east of Mount Imbabura to Angla, Zuleta, Angachawa, and Rinconada, and from these communities to Mariano Acosta and Pimampiro;
- (2) San Roque;
- (3) the zone from San Rafael in the north to San Roque on the east side of the Ambi River, hereafter Otavalo;

(4) to the north of San Roque until San Antonio de Ibarra on the east side of the Ambi River, hereafter, San Antonio; and

(5) to the north of San Rafael and the east of the River Ambi through the area near Cotacachi. Stark et al. (1973) quoted (Cole, 1982, pp. 4–5) do not state how these dialects differ.

*Figure 2-3: Imbabura province dialects based on Stark (1973) information*



Furthermore, it is relevant to mention that there is just a small number of Imbabura Kichwa monolinguals among elders and varying degrees of bilingualism is the norm for nearly all speakers (Gómez-Rendón, 2007). Widespread bilingualism is due to the constant contact between Kichwa speakers and Spanish speakers since the second half of the sixteenth century. For this reason, there is extensive lexical borrowings from Spanish into Kichwa (Gómez-Rendón, 2008). Due to the social and economic inequalities between the groups of speakers both languages now exist in a diglossic relationship where Kichwa has mostly been relegated to informal situations within the community where it is spoken (Gómez-Rendón, 2007).

### 2.1.3 Spanish loanwords and phonology

Most borrowed words from Spanish assimilate to the Kichwa phonology. In fact, older borrowings and high frequency words may even be difficult to identify as Spanish in origin e.g., *pagui* ‘thank you’ from the Spanish phrase *Dios se lo pague* ‘God will reward you’ or *minisitina* ‘to need’ from archaic Spanish *menester* ‘to need’. The phonological integration of Spanish loanwords mainly involves vowel changes. Spanish mid vowels are generally raised /e/ > /i/, /o/ > /u/ or are pronounced as close to Kichwa high vowels as possible. For example, the Spanish word *barato* ‘cheap’ is pronounced /baratu/ where the vowel /o/ raises to /u/ (Gómez-Rendón, 2007).

According to (Gómez-Rendón & Adelaar, 2009) words with more than one mid vowel have different phonetic realizations depending on their environment and frequency of use. For instance, the Spanish term *presidente* ‘president’ can vary from complete vowel assimilation to full preservation of the Spanish origin mid-vowels ([prizidinti]/[presidinti]/[presidente]) (pg. 18). The less frequent a word is in everyday speech, the less likely it is to assimilate to Kichwa phonology. For example, the Spanish term *uniforme* [uniforme] ‘uniform’ (pg. 18). Others (see Lipski, 2015; Stewart, 2015) believe it is the large acoustic vowel space that high vowels occupy in Kichwa that high vowels may sound like mid-vowels as they can occupy acoustic space that is reserved for mid-vowels in Spanish loanwords.

Another factor that might influence phonological integration is the speaker's level of bilingualism (see Guion, 2003 for an extensive overview of this topic). Gómez-Rendón & Adelaar, (2009) suggest that that a speaker's level of bilingualism can result in three different realizations of a Spanish loanword a) the realization corresponding to an incipient/ late bilingual (e.g., the Spanish term ‘*presidente*’ (president) [prizidinti]); b) subordinate bilingual (e.g., the Spanish term ‘*presidente*’ (president) [presidinti]), c) (unassimilated) to a coordinate bilingual (e.g., the Spanish

term '*presidente*' (president) [presidente]). Guion (2003) looks at vowel production from the perspective of Kichwa speakers speaking Spanish and shows similar trends with late bilinguals assimilating Spanish mid vowels to Kichwa high vowels, early and mid bilinguals with a mid-vowel category, and simultaneous bilinguals with a mid vowel category and separate high vowel categories e.g., a high vowel /i/ for Kichwa and a slightly more fronted and higher /i/ for Spanish.

Moreover, morphological features also affect the syllable structure of loanwords. Gómez-Rendón & Adelaar, (2009) show that the order of syllables changes in some cases while syllables are replaced or simply deleted in others (e.g., the Spanish term *temporada* [tem.po.ra.da] 'season' appears in Kichwa as [tem.po.ra]. Loanword assimilation can also change only a particular feature. For instance, the Spanish term *zanahoria* [sa.na.o.ri.a] 'carrot' in Kichwa is *sañora* [sapor.a], where /n/ undergoes palatalization to [ɲ]. Additionally, this word shows reduction of both vowel sequences to monophthongs, likely due to phonotactic assimilation as Kichwa does not break up vowel sequences into standalone syllables with a simple nucleus.

Additionally, certain nouns and verbs are borrowed under the guise of other nouns and verbs, but with a different meaning. For instance, the noun *rifuirso* 'effort' from Spanish *refuerzo* 'reinforcement' takes its meaning from *esfuerzo* 'effort'. Gómez-Rendón & Adelaar (2009) explain that verbs are particularly prone to morphophonological changes while nouns, adjectives, and adverbs are less so. The morphophonological integration of the loanwords is also common. For instance, Spanish verbs in Imbabura Kichwa regularly shift to Kichwa paradigms, which involves dropping the final Spanish -r of the infinitive form and adding the Kichwa infinitive -na e.g., Spanish *vola-r* 'fly-INF' becomes Kichwa *bula-na* 'fly-INF'.



Moreover, in some cases verbs can be derived directly from loanword nouns by simply adding the verbal infinitive marker. For instance, the Spanish noun *caballo* ‘horse’ transfers to Kichwa *kaballu* as a noun but can also be verbalized to *kaballu-na* ‘ride a horse-INF’ (p. 20), note that *\*caballo-ar* ‘ride a horse-INF’ is ungrammatical in Spanish.

Loanwords or borrowings are defined as lexical adoptions from one language to another. According to (Gómez-Rendón & Adelaar, 2009) it is a common word formation strategy especially among bilinguals, which allows for the simple transfer of a word without the need to create a new translation in the receiving language. With respect to Kichwa, transfer takes place in a number of ways: (1) loanwords can simply carry the phonological shell of a word from Spanish, which maps on to Kichwa semantics of an already existing word; similar to relexification in creoles and mixed languages. For example, the loan word *ayudar* ‘help’ is used in Kichwa as *aydana*. In addition to the phonological shell, (2) transfer can include semantic and grammatical information e.g., *jifi* ‘boss/chief’ can be used to refer to the western concept of ‘boss’ as a person in charge of a work force, but also refers to the Kichwa concept of *apu* meaning a ‘sovereign authority’. However, (3) most borrowings from Spanish fill lexical gaps involving western concepts and more recent technological innovations e.g., *prisidenti* ‘president’, *cumputadura* ‘computer’, *carru* ‘car’, and *cuntadura* ‘accountant’ from Spanish *presidente*, *computadora*, *carro*, and *contadora*, respectively.

#### **2.1.4 Agualongo Community Background**

Agualongo is a rural community located centrally in the Ecuadorian province of Imbabura in the parish of San Roque (the Canton of Antonio Ante see Figure 2-4**Error! Reference source not found.**) with a population of 10,142 (GAD San Roque, 2015). San Roque is one of the 4 rural parishes in the canton of Antonio Ante, located 4 km from the cantonal capital of Atuntaqui and

18 km from the Provincial capital of Ibarra. Its location corresponds to latitude 0°3' and longitude -78° 21'67. It is surrounded by three mostly Indigenous communities and five mostly-Mestizo boroughs. Economic activities in Agualongo include agriculture, gastronomy, and the creation of traditional indigenous clothing. Some of these activities take place in the community and nearby cities. Most of the inhabitants of Agualongo are bilingual speakers of Kichwa and Spanish.

However, the language dynamics are complex. Both Spanish and Kichwa are used in *mingas* (collaborative work collectives that form to benefit the greater community) depending on who is carrying on a conversation. When elders organize a *minga*, they feel comfortable speaking Kichwa. However, when both young people and elders are involved in a *minga*, they will switch back and forth between languages. When community meetings involve elders and young people sometimes people will decide to first speak in Kichwa and then translate to Spanish. When young people organize the activities in the community, the meeting takes place only in Spanish. Kichwa will also be used between neighbours who are comfortable using the language. However, young people never speak Kichwa with each other and when they share their ideas, it is always in Spanish. Nowadays, most parents speak to their children in Spanish to avoid possible discrimination, however, some still maintain Kichwa. Additionally, grandparents will often speak to their grandchildren in both languages, though the Spanish many grandparents speak is often a mix of both languages. In my house, my mother always speaks to us in Kichwa, but when a friend is around, she will speak Spanish. With my sister, we recently started mixing Spanish and Kichwa, but we used to feel weird speaking in Kichwa because we only spoke Spanish growing up. The president from the community uses Kichwa and Spanish for events and formal meetings, but all formal documents are written in Spanish. When somebody dies in the community, we visit their family and pray in Spanish. However, the traditional ceremony is in Kichwa. There used to be a

bilingual (Spanish-Kichwa) primary school; however, it was closed in 2014. Since 2014, children and teenagers attend primary and secondary schools using Spanish only; located in the San Roque parish. The Bilingual Kichwa-Spanish schools are not available for the communities of Canton Antonio Ante.

*Figure 2-4: Agualongo de Paredes Community, Location: Between Three Cities in Imbabura Province*



## 2.2 Unified Kichwa in Ecuador

During the 1970s and 1980s, various Indigenous political movements began to fight for Indigenous rights. Part of their purpose was to establish bilingual education in Ecuadorian schools, and to establish Ecuador as a pluricultural state (Acosta, 2017). As a result, according to (Grzech, 2017), in 1980 a standard variant of Ecuadorian Kichwa was developed, which was introduced in all official settings where Kichwa was used, including intercultural bilingual education. Later, in 2008 the Ecuadorian constitution recognized the Kichwa language as one of the official languages of intercultural relations, which guarantees it an official status in some areas of the country's administration (Grzech, 2017). This provided additional support for promoting the use of the

unified language and brought it back to the spotlight as the debate over bilingual education reemerged.

In order to Unify the Kichwa language varieties, planners involving Ecuadorian Indigenous political and educational leaders made decisions in two key linguistic areas to establish a Unified Kichwa (K. King & Haboud, 2010). The first step was unifying Kichwa's writing system through a standard alphabet and the second step was to 'purify' the lexicon by replacing Spanish loanwords with terms from other Quechuan languages or neologisms.

### ***2.2.1 The Unified Kichwa Alphabet***

There were a number of modifications made to the standardized Kichwa alphabet between 1973 to 2014. These constant changes have been problematic and have altered the way Kichwa speakers connect with their writing (Limerick, 2018).

In 1973, the Summer Institute for Linguistics (SIL) worked with the Ministry of Education to organize the 'First Seminar on Bilingual Education' at the Center for Investigation of Indigenous Education (CIEI) (Limerick, 2018). The SIL missionaries worked on several local varieties of Kichwa, applying graphemes from Spanish to facilitate literacy for writing in Kichwa during the latter half of the twentieth century with 23 graphemes: <a, b, c, ch, d, f, g, h, i, j, l, ll, m, n, ñ, p, q, r, s, t, u, y, z>.

Shortly afterwards, the Catholic University of Ecuador in Quito created indigenous literacy courses, after they observed the lack of adequate material for teaching Kichwa, (Montaluisa, 1980, p. 126). Through this and other indigenous and academic movements, the first official alphabet for

Kichwa was established with 21 graphemes: <c, ch, h, i, j, l, ll, m, n, ñ, p, q, r, s, sh, t, ts, u, y, z> (Chango, 2007).

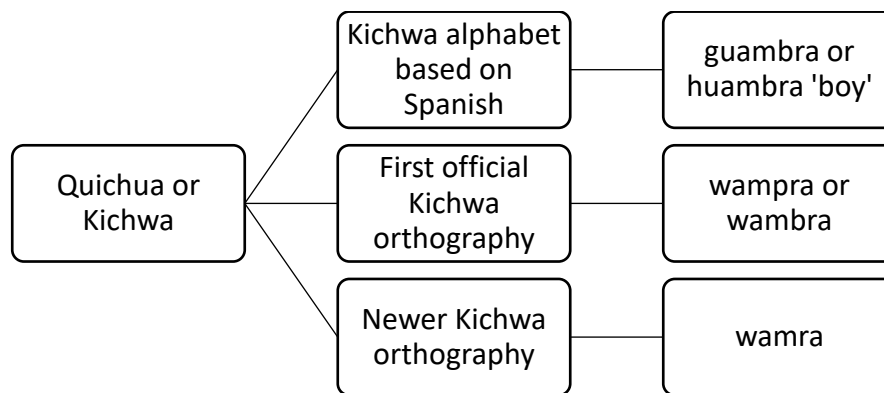
Language planners also began standardizing Kichwa to create bilingual education and language policies (K. King & Haboud, 2010). In the 1990s, Kichwa-speaking planners from the EBI (*Educación Bilingüe Intercultural* [Intercultural Bilingual Education]) led efforts to create once again a unified orthography for Ecuadorian Kichwa, inspired by the perceived “disorder” of alphabets for materials produced previously. At the second meeting for the unification of Kichwa, many Kichwa speakers were present, including members of Indigenous organizations, national directors of the EIB, linguists, and representatives from schools. Planners also reviewed proposals from teachers and students. This time, graphemes linked to the current standardized Kichwa alphabet, such as <k> were established. Also, the written name of the language changed from ‘Quichua’ to ‘Kichwa’. The new official alphabet contained just 19 graphemes: <a, ch, i, j, k, l, ll, m, n, ñ, p, r, s, sh, t, ts, u, w, y>. In 2004, directors of EIB made one more modification which changed the grapheme <j> to <h>. As of today, the official alphabet contains the following graphemes: <a, ch, i, h, k, l, ll, m, n, ñ, p, r, s, sh, t, ts, u, w, y> (Limerick, 2018).

### ***2.2.2 Consequences of the New Alphabet***

The changes to the Kichwa alphabet were seen as a step forward in Ecuador’s intercultural bilingual education system that put Kichwa on par with other languages like Spanish with a standardized orthography (Limerick, 2018). However, because of all the different versions between 1973 to 2014, a substantial portion of the literature and books for teaching Kichwa had a mix of orthographies. Due to these constant changes, many people, myself included found reading and writing in Kichwa confusing. An example of this confusion can be seen in Figure 2-5. First,

there are two different spellings for the language name, it is common to write Quichua with <qui> for /ki/ and <ua> for /wa/ and Kichwa with <k> and <wa>. Even with a word as common as [wambra] ‘boy’, appears with 5 different spelling variations in the literature <guambra> and <huambra>, which reflect the Spanish-based system, <wambra>, in one of the first iterations of Unified Kichwa, <wampira> in the second iteration of the unified system, which assumes the phonological rule of voicing stops after a nasal is understood, and the newest version <wamra>, which as completely dropped off the stop, which may reflect a Southern Kichwa pronunciation that is unfamiliar to people in the north. As a result, writers and readers alike were unsure of how the word should be spelled, pronounced as well as which language variety seemed to be the basis for standardization.

*Figure 2-5: Unified Kichwa Orthography changes*



In that sense, (Moya, 1990) cited by Limerick (2018) describes the outcome of the debates in the early 1980s as a "compromise alphabet" between Kichwa and Spanish phonology. What had been created under the name of ‘Unified Kichwa’ was a type of ‘panphonology’ for Ecuadorian Kichwa, which represents only standard phonemes used in some dialectal varieties.

Decisions made about Unified Kichwa were later codified in dictionaries and grammars as part of the “national standardization of the Ecuadorian Kichwa language” (K. King & Haboud, 2010, p. 75). However, the standardization of the alphabet and spelling conventions fails to capture the phonological system of most of the existing dialects. For instance, (Limerick, 2018, p. 11) mentioned the opinion of a Kichwa speaker named Yolanda who worked in the EIB and says the latest Kichwa alphabet has become too ambiguous.

“The *k* united the *g*, the *c*, and the *q*. The three letters are fused. With those three letters, there were vocabulary differences that weren’t related to allophones. They [created] different meanings. It’s not the same to say *killa* and *jilla* because *killa* is “moon” and *jilla* is “laziness”. So, when they were fused one says *killa*, *killa* [for both words]. There’s tremendous confusion if the author doesn’t form well the context of the writing. In the moment when an alphabet is reduced in a language, it’s not helping to strengthen the language. It’s strengthening the elimination of a language.”<sup>4</sup>

In order to avoid the situation where the new Kichwa alphabet or standardized Kichwa itself becomes a detriment to its speakers, it is necessary to create adequate language planning policies. To achieve this, the participation of people from different labour backgrounds and functions are key to elaborate on such policies, which would benefit from the process of creating an adequate standard language (Limerick, 2018). These people should have sufficient experience to achieve an adequate linguistic standardization that encompasses the teaching of writing, reading, phonology, among other linguistic fields (Limerick, 2018).

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<sup>4</sup> My translation

### 2.2.3 Construction of Neologisms

One of the most widely used methods to standardize a language's vocabulary and to eliminate borrowings is through the development and use of neologisms (Coronel-Molina & McDowell, 2008). In order to 'purify' Kichwa and rid it of all Spanish borrowings, language planners set out to create neologisms. For instance, compounds were created such as, *yachana-huasi* 'learn-house' for 'school' and other techniques like semantic expansion were used, as seen in the word *aspic* for 'chalk', which is derived from *aspina* a verb meaning 'to scratch'. These words were created to replace *iscuila* > Sp. *escuela* 'school' and *tiza* > Sp. *tiza* 'chalk' respectively. These particular neologisms are part of a larger group that are used to refer to educational terms in Unified Kichwa (C.Ñ.S-P, 1982, as cited in Ministerio de Educación, 2009, p. 218). If this were not confusing enough, note that *aspic* is written with a <c> and can also translate to 'pencil' (which has its own neologism, *killkanakaspi*) in the Ministerio de Educación dictionary, while in the Shimiyuk Kamu dictionary (Chimbo Aguinda et al., 2008), it is spelled with a <k> (p. 302) and translates it as 'signature' with no reference to any type of writing instrument.

During the second half of the 20th century, several efforts were made to create new Kichwa terminology and grammar in the EBI (Ministerio de Educación, 2009), thus reducing the number of words borrowed from Spanish. After most of the Spanish words were expunged, the movements that attempted to create a Unified Kichwa began to take a greater interest in creating neologisms (Kowii, 2005). The Ministry of Education (*Ministerio de Educación*) with various Ecuadorian institutions such as the EBI, ALKI (*Academia de la Lengua Kichwa* [Kichwa Language Academy]), CIEI (*Centro de Investigaciones Educativas Indígenas* [Center for Indigenous Educational Research]), and DIPEIB (*Dirección Provincial de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe*



[Provincial Directorate of Bilingual Intercultural Education]) have been primarily in charge of creating these neologisms.

The construction of neologisms in Ecuadorian Kichwa took into account archaic words from old dictionaries (see example 3) from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17th century, (see example 4) Spanish borrowings changed to neologisms, (see example 5) Adoption of Peruvian and Bolivian terms, (see example 6) and compound words, (Ministerio de Educación, 2009), all of which can be found in the following examples:

3. Kichwa terms from the 16th and 17th centuries CE (archaic words) (Ministerio de Educación, 2009)

*Chusña*, ‘little nose’

*Ipa*, ‘aunt’

*Urpa*, ‘dove’

*Wakanki*, ‘charm’

4. Spanish terms (archaic or current) (Ministerio de Educación, 2009)

*Minishtina* from *menester* ‘need’ (now, *mutsuma*)

*Aydana* from *ayudar* ‘help’ (now, *yanapana*)

*Tupana* from *topar* ‘touch’ (now, *kipana*, *llamkana*, *hawina*, *takina* (instrument))

5. Adoption of Peru-Bolivia terms (Ministerio de Educación, 2009)

- a) Peruvian Quechua

*Kutimuy*, ‘coming back to the same place’

*Panay*, ‘sister of brother’

*Ripuy*, ‘to go back to where they were before’

*Turay*, ‘brother of sister’

*Tawa*, ‘four’

- b) Bolivian Quechua

*Awaki*, ‘Monday’

*Awkak/ wamra*, ‘Tuesday’  
*Chillay*, ‘Wednesday’  
*Chaska*, ‘Friday’ (Berrios, 1904: 21).  
*Inti*, ‘Sunday’ (Berríos, 1904: 21).

- c) Bolivian Aymara  
*Yatiri*, ‘wise man of the Colla town’  
*Achachlla*, ‘ceremony performed by the Aymara’

6. New compound neologisms (Ministerio de Educación, 2009)

- a) *haya-kawsa*  
high-live  
‘civilization’  
b) *killka-katina*  
write-follow  
‘read’  
c) *kawsay-pura*  
live-among  
‘multicultural’  
d) *hatun-wasi*  
big-house  
‘university’

Due to the colonial oppression mentioned in subsection 2.1.1, language planners believed removing the Spanish terms, roots, and morphemes would render a purer form of Kichwa that existed before the colonization.

#### 2.2.4 *Unified Kichwa in Kichwa-Speaking Communities*

The formal nature of Unified Kichwa has meant that it is only taught in Bilingual Kichwa-Spanish schools. However, there are simply not enough (Spanish – Kichwa) bilingual schools and not enough teachers who are familiar with Unified Kichwa. This makes it extremely challenging, which is compounded by the fact that bilingual education is not mandated for all schools at the government level, so funding is severely lacking. This means that when a school does implement bilingual education, they are often public schools found in community-based schools, which have historically been considered to be of lesser quality than private schools located in the city, so when Indigenous families have the option, they prefer to send their children out of the community for schooling even though it means they will not have access to bilingual education. As a member of a rural community growing up, my parents made this exact choice for me, because they believed the private schools would offer opportunities that those in the public system could not.

Beyond the bilingual education system, there are few opportunities to learn Unified Kichwa in Imbabura. However, there are a number of smaller organizations that have emerged such as *Kichwashun* ‘let us continue speaking Kichwa’, that attempt to teach Unified Kichwa vocabulary (Benitez, 2007), though several media sources, such as Radio *Ilumán*, Radio and College TV Channel (*UTN*), *Taripana* TV (Benitez, 2017), and *Educa* (a segment for children). However, the unknown neologisms used by these organizations cause barriers for understanding and learning Unified Kichwa for speakers of community Kichwa varieties. In my own experience as a speaker of Community Kichwa, I had a difficult time understanding political speeches when spoken in Unified Kichwa because of the unknown neologisms and my grandparents felt illiterate and ashamed for not being able to understand the Unified Kichwa.

Example 8 shows the transcription of a broadcast with neologisms from the radio station 93.5 FM in the city of Cotacachi located in the province of Imbabura Ecuador. The radio host makes use of Unified Kichwa when discussing the precautions people should take to prevent the COVID-19 virus.

Example 8 shows how Unified Kichwa uses neologisms (shown in bold) to replace the Spanish borrowed words such as *añawllawtu* CK: *COVID*, Sp: *COVID* ‘COVID’, *unanchata* CK: *señalización-ta*, Sp: *señalización* ‘signs’, *ishpana ukuman* CK: *bañu-man* Sp: *baño* ‘bathroom’, *wiwakuna* CK: *animal-kuna* Sp: *animales* ‘animals’, and *yanaparishpa* CK: *ayda-ri-shpa*; Sp: *ayudarse* ‘help’.

#### 7. COVID-19 virus (*Añaw-llawtu*)

UK: *Añaw-llawtu*  
ant-crown  
CK: *COVID*  
SP: *COVID*  
EN: ‘COVID’

UK: *Makita mayllanamanta Movidelnor unanchata churakun.*  
CK: *Makita maillanamanda Movidelnor señalizacionda churajun.*  
SP: *Para lavarse las manos Movildernor está colocando señaléticas.*  
EN: ‘To wash your hands Movidelnor is placing signs’.

UK: *Ishpana ukuman rishpa hipa makita mayllarina.*  
CK: *Bañuman rishpa jipa makita maillarina.*  
SP: *Después de usar el baño, lávate las manos.*  
EN: ‘After using the bathroom, wash your hands’.

UK: *Uhushpa hipa ashilli hipapash makita mayllarina.*  
CK: *Ujushpa jipa ujuy jipapash makita maillarina.*  
SP: *Después de estornudar lavarse las manos.*  
EN: ‘After sneezing wash your hands’.

UK: *Wiwakunata takarishpa, **wiwapak** mikunata takarishpa **wiwapa** ismata takarishpa hipa makita mayllarina.*

CK: *Animalkunata takarishpa, **animalpa** mikunata takarishpa **animalpa ishpata** takarishpa hipa makita maillarina.*

SP: *Tocando los **animales**, tocando la comida de la **mascota**, tocando los **desechos** de las mascotas lavate las manos.*

EN: 'After touching your **animal**, after touching your **animal's** food, after touching pet **waste**, wash your hands'.

UK: *Tukuykuna **yanaparishpami** mana **unkurishun**.*

CK: *Tukuykuna **aidarishpami** mana **irkillashun**.*

SP: *Todos **ayudándonos** no enfermaremos.*

EN: 'By **helping** each other we will not get sick'

From my perspective as a Kichwa speaker, I thought this radio host showed great initiative when providing information about COVID-19 in Kichwa. However, when listening to the information in Unified Kichwa, I was not able to understand several important words, in particular the bolded ones above: *wiwakuna* “pets,” *unanchata* “signs”, and *ashilli* “sneeze”. Even COVID, the name of the virus, was changed to the neologism *añawllawtu*. Consequently, in order to understand the broadcast in Unified Kichwa a) I had to use a dictionary, b) consult other sources for translations (given that COVID is not a word found in dictionaries), and c) repeat the video several times. This situation makes me concerned about important information that they are providing for the Indigenous communities through the radio as it could be challenging for community Kichwa speakers to understand.

Moreover, before the unification process, Community Kichwa was generally accepting of lexical borrowings, but highly conservative with respect to grammatical substance. In fact, the mixed language, Media Lengua with 90% Spanish lexical borrowings is still seen by most speakers of Kichwa as an ‘odd’ variety of Kichwa, because the morphosyntax is shared. At the same time, Unified Kichwa with its substantial number of unfamiliar neologisms is still seen as a variety of

Kichwa as the morphosyntax is mostly shared with community varieties as well. Reversing this i.e., adding Spanish morphonology to Kichwa roots would likely cause great confusion for most speakers. Therefore, it appears what really makes Kichwa varieties identifiable to speakers as such is the morphosyntax. Additionally, given that noun, adjective, and adverb roots are easily separated from their morphology, their replacement with Spanish roots is a straightforward process with a one-to-one correspondence e.g., after removing morphology from both languages, the Spanish word *planta*-s ‘plant-PL’ could map directly onto Kichwa *yura-kuna* ‘plant-PL’ to form *planta-kuna* ‘plant-PL’. Verbs are slightly more complex but also follow a regular pattern where the final <-r> from the Spanish infinitive form is replaced with the Kichwa infinitive marker -na e.g., *come-r* ‘eat’ → *come-* → *come-na*, which could hypothetically replace the Kichwa verb *miku-na* meaning ‘to eat’. Therefore, given the importance of Kichwa grammar for identification and borrowings from Spanish to Kichwa are generally an accepted and straightforward process (prior to unification efforts), it is unsurprising that loanwords are so prevalent. In fact, an estimated 21% to 42% of Imbabura Kichwa’s vocabulary is of Spanish origin (Gómez-Rendón, 2007, Stewart et al 2021). And, because of this, speakers are heavily targeted by language ‘purists’ who often seem to turn a blind eye to the damage this might be causing native speakers of community varieties.

## 2.3 Phonemic Inventory

The following subsections describe the phonemic inventories of Spanish, Agualongo Kichwa, and Unified Kichwa.

### 2.3.1 Ecuadorian Spanish Inventory

Table 2-1 details the phonemic inventory of highland Ecuadorian Spanish. It contains 19 phonemes, with a noticeable stop voicing contrasts in each place of articulation. Additionally, this

chart shows that Ecuadorian Spanish follows into the *lleísmo* dialects, which maintain a distinction between /j/ and /ʎ/. While this is the case in coastal dialects, in the Andean highlands, there is a slight twist where /j/ is replaced with /ɟ/, forming the *ɟesísmo* contrast between /ɟ/ and /ʎ/. Stewart (2020) claims that this contrast is at least partially maintained if not directly influenced by Kichwa. The IPA chart in Table 2-1 is based on studies by Resnick (1975) and Salcedo (2010), (as cited in Stewart, 2015, p. 31).

	Labial		Coronal				Dorsal			Radical	Laryngeal
	Bilabial	Labio - Dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d				k g			
Nasal	m			n			ɲ				
Trill				r							
Tap or Flap				ɾ							
Fricative		f		s			ʃ	x			
Affricate					tʃ						
Glides (Approximant)	w										
Liquid (lateral approximant)			l					ʎ			

*Table 2-1: Ecuadorian Spanish Phonetic Inventory by Resnick (1995) and Salcedo (2010) cited on Stewart (2015).*

Like most Spanish dialects, Ecuadorian Spanish contains five vowels: 3 peripheral vowels /i, u, a/ and two mid-vowels /e/ and /o/. However, Rural and L2 (L1 Kichwa) dialects of Ecuadorian Spanish show a reduction in acoustic vowel space where the mid-vowels essentially collide with high vowels (Guion, 2003; Lipski, 2015). According to Lipski (2015), speakers with this vowel space can only reliably distinguish the three corner vowels when contextual cues are limited.

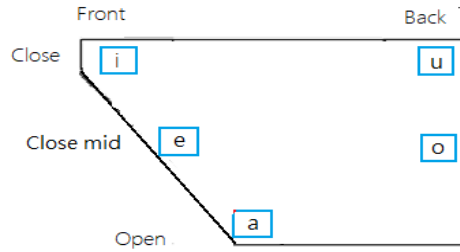


Figure 2-6: Spanish standard vowel chart based on Stewart (2015)

### 2.3.2 Imbabura Kichwa Inventory

Table 2-2 displays pre-Spanish-contact Imbabura Kichwa phonemes<sup>5</sup>. As opposed to the Spanish system in Table 2-1, pre-contact Kichwa does not have a stop voicing contrast; however, (Stewart, 2015, 2018) shows that modern post-contact Kichwa readily makes use of the stop voicing contrast in nativized borrowings both productively and perceptually e.g., *burru* /bu.zu/ ‘donkey’ vs. *purina* /pu.ri.na/ ‘to walk’. It is also worth noting that Imbabura Kichwa, unlike other dialects of Ecuadorian Kichwa, makes use of /ɸ/ instead of /p<sup>h</sup>/ e.g., *fīña* /ɸiɲa/ vs. *piña* /p<sup>h</sup>iɲa/ for ‘angry’ (see (Kohlberger, 2010) for the latter & (Stewart, 2015) for the former).

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<sup>5</sup> All voiceless phonemes in Kichwa have a voiced counter part and are considered, in traditional phonology, as allophonic variants in post-nasal position /p/[b] (or [β]), /t/[d], /k/[g] and /s/[z], (Hegarty 2005; Gómez-Rendón 2007).

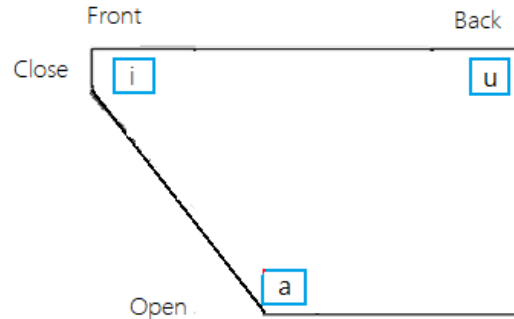


	Labial		Coronal				Dorsal			Radical	Laryngeal
	Bilabial	Labio - Dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	p		t					k			
Nasal	m		n				ɲ				
Trill											
Tap or Flap				r							
Fricative	ɸ			s	ʃ ʒ	ʐ		x			
Affricate					tʃ						
Glides (Approximant)							j				
(Lateral approximant)			l					w			

*Table 2-2: Imbabura Kichwa Inventory based on Stewart (2011)*

The Imbabura Kichwa vowel system is made up of three phonemic corner vowels /i, a, u/ (Lipski, 2015; Stewart, 2015). While mid-vowels can be present in Spanish origin borrowings (Gómez-Rendón, 2007; Stewart, 2015), they are often assimilated to Kichwa high vowels and most of the time they are not perceived as being different (Stewart, 2018). Also, given the large vowel space available to Kichwa high vowels, as there is no phonemic mid-vowel category to delimit its

range, high vowels may ‘sound’ like mid-vowels to Spanish speakers when they are produced with a higher F1 formant frequency.



*Figure 2-7: Kichwa vowels based on Stewart (2011)*

### 2.3.3 Unified Kichwa inventory

The Unified Kichwa Dictionary does not present the IPA of their graphemes. However, the section on phonology describes with the following Kichwa consonant phonemes /p, t, k, \*q, č, h, s, š, m, n, ñ, l, ly, r/ and Kichwa semivowels /w, y/ (Ministerio de Educación, 2009, p. 19). Additionally, the Unified Kichwa graphemes include <ch, h, k, l, ll, m, n, ñ, p, r, s, sh, t, w, y>, so the IPA phonemic consonant inventory could possibly interpret as in Table 2-3.

*Table 2-3: Phoneme, grapheme, IPA correspondences.*

Phonology	Orthography	Possible IPA interpretation
p	p	p
t	t	t
k	k	k
q	q <sup>6</sup>	q <sup>7</sup>
č	ch	tʃ
h	h	h/x
s	s	s
š	sh	ʃ
m	m	m

<sup>6</sup> The Unified Kichwa orthography does not use the <q> grapheme in their writing system. The <k> grapheme is used instead.

n	n	n
ñ	ñ	ɲ
l	l	l
ly	ll	ʎ
r	r	r
w	w	w
y	y	j

However, if this is the case, this does not match Kichwa pronunciation in Imbabura as it omits /ɸ/; /ʎ/ seems to be of Spanish or southern Quechua origin and is produced as /z/ in Imbabura; and the trilled /r/ is also not found in Imbabura (the closest being /z/ (see Stewart, 2020). Additionally, the Ministry of Education oddly adds /q/ (an unvoiced uvular stop) to the list, which is exceedingly rare, if used at all in Ecuadorian dialects of Kichwa. However, this phoneme is quite common in Southern Peruvian varieties of Quechua.

## 2.4 Comparative Analysis of Unified Kichwa vs. Community Kichwa

In this section, I compare Unified Kichwa and Community Kichwa. Comparative examples will be provided to demonstrate the phonological and lexical differences between Kichwa (central and southern dialects), (northern dialect), and Unified Kichwa to show the wealth of variations found in Community Kichwa dialects.

### 2.4.1 *Phonological Differences*

As previously mentioned, Unified Kichwa has established a generalized phonological system, which was intended to simplify teaching the language across the country. However, this phonology does not take into account the wealth of dialectal variation that is unique from community to community (Wroblewski, 2012) (see subsection 13.3).

Because of this, learners of Unified Kichwa are faced with adapting to the new system, which differs from their community dialect and L2 learners are faced with learning a sound system that is not used by native members of any community. A clear example of this is presented in the Table 2-4, based on (Gómez-Rendón, 2007) where it is possible to observe the phonological differences among Unified Kichwa with other Community Kichwa varieties such as those used in the central and southern regions of Ecuador as compared with Imbabura Kichwa (northern dialect).

*Table 2-4: Kichwa Dialects and Unified Kichwa based on (Wroblewski M. , 2012)*

English gloss	Dialects	Unified Kichwa
To blow	/p <sup>h</sup> ukuna/ <i>Central Dialect</i>	<i>pukuna</i>
To drink	/upiana/ <i>Southern dialect</i>	<i>upyana</i>
man	/jari/ <i>Northern Dialect</i>	<i>kari</i>

While the dialectal variations are still mutually intelligible in this example, they rely heavily on features from the central region, which may affect the prestige of the northern and southern dialects that are less similar in Unified Kichwa. This could inadvertently create political strife as well and cause a loss of the dialectal richness in more distinct varieties.

These issues coupled with issues of multiple codifications in the literature from 1974 to 2014 before finalizing the standardization continues to create ambiguities, confusion, and stress for speakers of community dialects of Kichwa. A possible example of how confusing learning unified Kichwa can be while dealing with 40 years of different orthographies and a diverse dialectal pronunciation is illustrated with the word *allkuku* ‘puppy’ in Table 5.

*Table 2-5: Spelling and pronunciation variations of allkuku ‘puppy’ in Ecuadorian Kichwa*

‘Puppy’	Unified: allkuku
Possible literature	allkuku, alkuku, alcuku, ashkuku, ashcuku, achkuku, allkoku, alkoku, alcoku, ashkoku, ashcoku, achcoku, allkugu, alkugu, alcugu, ashkugu, ashcugu, achcugu, allkogu, alkogu, alcogu, ashkogu, ashcogu, achcogu,

realizations (spellings)	allkugo, alkugo, alcugo, ashkugo, ashcugo, achcugo, allkogo, alkogo, alcogo, ashkogo, ashcogo, achcogo,
Possible pronunciations	[azkuku], [alkuku], [aʃkuku], [aʎkuku], [aʃkuku], [azkugu], [alkugu], [aʃkugu], [aʎkugu], [aʃkugu], [azkøkø], [alkøkø], [aʃkøkø], [aʎkøkø], [aʃkøkø], [azkøqø], [alkøqø], [aʃkøqø], [aʎkøqø], [aʃkøqø], [azkøkø], [alkøkø], [aʃkøkø], [aʎkøkø], [aʃkøkø], [azkøkø], [alkøkø], [aʃkøkø], [aʎkøkø], [aʃkøkø], [azkøkø], [alkøkø], [aʃkøkø], [aʎkøkø]

Additionally, as observed in Table 6, a single grapheme e.g., <p>, may have four different pronunciations.

*Table 2-6: Graphemic variation with respect to pronunciation*

Grapheme	Variants	Unified Spelling	Imbabura	Cotopaxi	English
<p>	[p]	pirka	[pirka]	[pirka]	‘wall’
	[f]/[p <sup>h</sup> ]	puyu	[fuju]	[p <sup>h</sup> uju]	‘cloud’
	[b]	chumpi	[ʃʉmbi]	[ʃʉmbi]	‘belt’

While this degree of graphemic variation might be common in languages like English, it is worth remembering that Kichwa was and, for all intents and purposes, still is primarily an oral language with low literacy rate. Limerick (2018) also mentions that the creation of the Kichwa alphabet has been politically motivated, which has caused additional problems as certain groups have greater influences on the literature with their ‘preferred’ alphabets.

In addition, Unified Kichwa dictionaries either do not account for phonemic variation (Chimbo Aguinda et al., 2008; Kinti-Moss & Nematni Baltazar, 2018; Ministerio de Educación, 2009) or can have an overbearing number of pronunciations that do not have their origins marked (Ministerio de Educación, 2009, see example 9). When phonological information is present in a comprehensible way, it is often of a singular regional variety (see Gualapuro & David, 2017 for Imbabura Kichwa). One clear example of a dictionary that offers regional variation is the (1977) publication by (Stark & Muysken); however, while this dictionary offers one of the best

descriptions of community Kichwa varieties, it is not a Unified Kichwa dictionary and thus contains Spanish borrowings and uses a Spanish-based orthography.

#### 8. Unified Kichwa lexical entries without phonological representations

*Atallpa* 'hen': [atalypa, atalpa, atažpa, atawallpa, atapa, ataba, atiža, atilpa, atilba, atilypa, atulba, atil] (Ministerio de Educación, 2009, p. 49)

When phonological information is offered in the Unified Kichwa dictionaries, it is written in Spanish and often in long and difficult to read prologues. Ideally, a Unified Kichwa dictionary would not attempt to unify pronunciation and instead create a system that can adapt to regional pronunciation through regional-based phonological rules e.g., stating explicitly that stop consonants become voiced after nasal segments or that /p<sup>h</sup>/ in Imbabura should be pronounced as [ɸ]. This would likely be more acceptable to speakers and learners of the language.

Furthermore, Wroblewski (2012) explains that the standardized alphabet has affected the pronunciation of dialectal variations found from community to community. For instance, in the Tena dialect the word 'toucan' is pronounced [dumbiki] and spelled *dumbiqui* in the Spanish-based orthography, but now, according to the Unified Kichwa, 'toucan' is *tumpiki*. Regarding the smaller number of phonemes in Unified Kichwa, Wroblewski (2012) mentions "such reduction of voiced and voiceless allophones to single graphemes p, t, and k in written form leads learners of Unified Kichwa to read the voiceless phoneme as the prescribed one for spoken pronunciation" (p. 75). King (2001) also states, children and young adults who are studying and learning Unified Kichwa are not able to master the phonological system. This is due to the creation of the orthographic standard not considering the phonological Kichwa variants. These differences generate clashes and gaps in communication between older (who speak 'authentic Kichwa') and young Kichwa

speakers (K. A. King, 2001, p. 195). As a Kichwa speaker, I have had to educate myself in Unified Kichwa where I have been able to observe that it has a primary focus on writing and spelling, but not phonology. Therefore, when reading unified texts, it takes extra time to figure out how a word should be pronounced, which reduces the speed one can read and can hinder comprehension. Therefore, the reduction of graphemes can hinder phonological interpretations of a word.

#### 2.4.2 Lexical differences

The unification aims to promote a general Unified Kichwa without taking into account the main dialects of Ecuadorian Kichwa. The process of unification attempts to replace Kichwa loanwords from Spanish with neologisms (Wroblewski M. , 2012). For instance, the expression *imanalla?* ‘How are you?’ has become popular in the media, political speeches, formal conversations, and Education. However, this expression from Unified Kichwa has replaced a number of common expressions used in Indigenous communities in Imbabura See Table 2-7.

Table 2-7: Unified Kichwa greetings

Unified Kichwa	Community Kichwa	English
<i>Imanalla?</i>	<i>Kawsankichu?</i>	Are you alive?
	<i>Allillachu kanki?</i>	Are you fine?
	<i>Kaypichu kanki?</i>	Are you here?

The expression *imanalla* comes to be a direct translation of the Spanish ‘how are you?’. However, the issue of unification is at a paradoxical point where they remove loans from Spanish, but still maintain the direct translation of the expressions.

9. Unified Kichwa: *Ima-nalla*  
what-not yet
- Spanish: *¿Cómo estás?*  
‘How are you?’

Moreover, lexical changes create difficulties when it comes to revalorization efforts due to the substantial number of unrecognizable neologisms added to the unified variety. For example, purists have replaced the word for ‘bicycle’ (*biciclita*) with the neologism *antawapyu*, which is a compound containing the word for ‘steel’ (*antawa*) and ‘horse’ (*apyu*), which themselves are both neologisms. Without explicitly being taught its meaning, it is unintuitive.

In addition, the unification promotes a unified version of Kichwa with no emphasis on a particular dialect. Each community that speaks Kichwa has its own variation that is often only fully understood by those local to the area. Table 2-8 below shows some examples of lexical variations between the Cañar, Imbabura, and Unified dialects of Kichwa.

*Table 2-8: Differences between Cañar Kichwa, Imbabura Kichwa, and Unified Kichwa Lexicon*

English gloss	Spanish gloss	Cañar Kichwa	Imbabura Kichwa	Unified Kichwa
pollute	<i>sucio</i>	<i>tara</i>	<i>mapa</i>	<i>karka</i>
selfish	<i>egoista</i>	<i>tili</i>	<i>mitsa</i>	<i>michak</i>
open	<i>abierto</i>	<i>zaza</i>	<i>paska</i>	<i>wisiyay</i>
watershed	<i>vertiente</i>	<i>tasqui</i>	<i>pugio</i>	<i>pukyu</i>

In these cases, the terms change entirely, as is the case with *tara* (Cañar dialect), *mapa* (Imbabura Kichwa), and *karka* (Unified Kichwa). The next example of lexical variation is *tili* (Cañar dialect), *mitsa* (Imbabura dialect) and *michak* (Unified Kichwa) refers to somebody who is ‘selfish’. However, the Unified Kichwa form of the word *michak* can be easily misinterpreted, for example in my community, *micha* means ‘light/ electricity’, which his derived from the Spanish word *mecha* meaning ‘candle wick’. The lexical richness of Kichwa is undoubtedly extensive and has a large set of lexical terminology with a wide range of interpretations. Because of this, the standardization of Kichwa may come to relegate the dialectal varieties and may even cause language loss. (Wroblewski, 2012, p. 172).



### 3 Methodology

This is an exploratory study that aims to better understand lexical differences and similarities in Agualongo Kichwa and Unified Kichwa. This section outlines the procedures involved in establishing the data set used for analysis. Section 3.1 details how the data was collected, Section 3.2 details how the wordlist was established, and 3.3 details the statistical analysis used to analyze the results in Section 4.4.

#### 3.1 Dictionaries used to create the database

This section details the wordlist collection process for this study, which is based on two types of Kichwa dictionaries a) a dictionary with community Kichwa translations, and b) unified Kichwa dictionaries. The first wordlist for this project came by way of Kichwa translations presented in the Media Lengua Dictionary (*Chaupishimipa Diccionioca*) (Stewart et al., 2020). Media Lengua is a mixed language spoken in the community of Pijal (Imbabura) approximately 30 minutes to the south of Agualongo by bus. An estimated 90% of the lexical items in Media Lengua are of Spanish origin while the grammar is essentially Kichwa. Speakers of Media Lengua also speak Spanish and Kichwa and their dictionary contains translations of both these languages.

I decided to use this dictionary as it is one of only dictionaries published that specifically represents a community dialect of Imbabura Kichwa. The Kichwa translations reflect naturalistic speech and the authors explicitly avoid Unified Kichwa words that were not known or used by community speakers of Imbabura Kichwa. I can confirm this as I worked as a lexicographer on this project and aided in the Kichwa translations. The lemmas (headwords) for this dictionary were primarily extracted from audio recordings of informal conversations and stories told by community

members. The preamble of the dictionary also reveals that three parts of the speech make up 90% of the headwords: nouns (55%), verbs (21%), and adjectives (14%). This is because the Spanish words in Media Lengua are directly mapped on to the semantics of the Kichwa word they replace through a process known as relexification (Muysken, 1981). Additionally, there is further evidence that substantiates this distribution by Gómez-Rendón (2007, p. 518) who states that in Imbabura Kichwa, “Nouns are by far the largest lexical class (55%), followed by verbs (16%), adjectives (8%) and adverbs (2%).” The preamble of the Media Lengua dictionary also mentions that 57% of the Kichwa translations are of Kichwa origin, while 42% are of Spanish origin (the final 1% are from other languages). The percentages of origin will be used as points of comparison with Agualongo Kichwa (see Appendix A).

Three different Unified Kichwa dictionaries were used to translate Agualongo Kichwa to Unified Kichwa. These included the Kichwa-English-Spanish dictionary (Kinti-Moss & Nematni Baltazar, 2018), Shimiyukkamuk (Chimbo Aguinda et al., 2008), and Kichwa Yachakukkunapa Shimiyuk Kamu (Educación, 2009). However, the latter dictionary was used as the primary resource since it is the official government dictionary used for bilingual education in Ecuador. The other Unified dictionaries were only used when the words were not found in the Yachakukkunapa Shimiyuk Kamu dictionary.

### **3.2 Wordlist creation**

The Media Lengua dictionary was a firsthand resource for the creation of Agualongo community Kichwa wordlist. I decided to choose half the lemmas from the dictionary due to time constraints with this research project after the COVID-19 pandemic restricted my ability to travel to

Agualongo to elicit data. I ended up with 1430 words out of a possible 3216 lemmas from the Media Lengua dictionary. Because of the COVID-19 pandemic most of the elicitation sessions were conducted over the internet, which also slowed down the process. Using the video conferencing application Zoom, I had six 30-minute sessions with two consultants who helped verify that the words chosen reflected Agualongo Kichwa rather than Pijal Kichwa. I would say a word from the Pijal Kichwa wordlist and the consultants, who were native speakers of Agualongo Kichwa, were asked to confirm whether they would use the word in everyday conversation. They were asked to answer *ari* ‘yes’ when the word was known or *na* ‘no’ when it was not. If doubt arose, the consultants were asked to consult with other speakers over the phone to avoid contact during the pandemic. Table 3-1 provides an excerpt of the wordlist with Pijal Kichwa translations in the middle and Agualongo confirmations on the right.

*Table 3-1: Excerpt of the wordlist*

<b>Part of speech</b>	<b>Community Dictionary</b>	<b>Agualongo Kichwa</b>	<b>English</b>
adjective	acha	yes	a lot
adjective	ali	yes	good
adjective	chaquishea	yes	dry
adjective	chaupi	yes	half
adjective	chiqui	yes	unlucky
adjective	illan	yes	empty
adjective	jatun	yes	big
adjective	utsia	yes	fast
adjective	llambu	yes	soft

The following steps were observed to complete the Unified Kichwa wordlist based on Agualongo Kichwa words:

- a) First, the Agualongo Kichwa word was looked up in the Unified Kichwa Dictionaries to see whether it had a cognate. To do so, the orthography needed to be converted from the Spanish-based system, often used in Agualongo Kichwa, to the Unified Kichwa system.

AK: *micuna* ‘to eat’ → UK: *mikuna* ‘to eat’ → *mikuna* ‘to eat’ was added to UK list.

- b) If the word was not found in the Unified Dictionary, the word would be looked up on the Spanish section of Unified Kichwa dictionaries. If there was a match, it would be added to the Unified Kichwa list.

AK: *iscuila* ‘school’ → UK: *yachanawasi* ‘school’ → AK: Spanish translation: *escuela* ‘school’ → UK Spanish to Kichwa: *yachanawasi* ‘school’ → *yachanawasi* ‘school’ added to UK list.

- c) If the Spanish translation was not found in the unified dictionaries, it was marked as ‘unidentified’ in the list as there was no point for comparison.

CK: *ataqui* → UK: X → CK: Spanish translations: *infarto*, *ataque de corazón*, *epilepsia*, *aneurisma cerebral* ‘heart attack, epilepsy, brain aneurism’ → Spanish to UK: X → ‘unidentified’.

### 3.3 Database establishment

Once the wordlist for Agualongo Kichwa and Unified Kichwa was established, a number of details were added. A ‘Part of Speech’ column was added based on the Kichwa translations from the Media Lengua dictionary. Next a ‘same\_word’ column was added to identify whether words from both varieties were cognates. In other words, if a word in both Agualongo Kichwa and Unified Kichwa are of the same etymological root (e.g., AK: *alcu* vs. UK: *allku* ‘dog’) it was marked as ‘yes’, but if the words differ etymologically (e.g., AK: *chumpa* vs. *kunuklli* ‘coat’), they were marked as ‘no’.

The next column was label as ‘Same\_phonology’ and marked ‘yes’ or ‘no’ based on the orthographic conventions used in the wordlist; Spanish-based orthography for Agualongo Kichwa and the unified system for Unified Kichwa. If a word like *micuna* ‘to eat’ and *mikuna* ‘to eat’ appeared, then it was deemed as the same since <c> and <k> represent the same sound ([k]); however, if *alcu* ‘dog’ and *allku* ‘dog’ appeared, it was deemed different as <l> is pronounced as [l] and <ll> is pronounced as [ʃ].

The data in the “Origin” column provided the language origin based primarily on the wordlist description from the Media Lengua dictionary: (k) refers to Kichwa and (es) refers to Spanish. The column “Dictionary” registers from which Unified Kichwa dictionary the translation came from; if a word were not found it was marked with an (x).

The final column, ‘semantic field’ includes 24 semantic categories based on Agualongo Kichwa (agriculture & tools, animals, clothing, colour, country elements, directions, feelings, food & drinks, home, illness, medicine, modern tools, office & activities, people & activities, professions, quantity, religion & believes, school materials, texture-shape-flavour, the body, time, transportation, types of buildings, and weather & temperature). These categories are based on list Gómez-Rendón and Adelaar (2009 p. 15) who specifically analyzed loanwords and semantic categories in Imbabura Kichwa.

Table 3-2: Agualongo Kichwa and Unified Kichwa Data Analysis (see Appendix A for the full list)

Part_of_speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	april	abril	ayriwa	no	no	es	ministerio	time
noun	friend	amigu	mashi	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
noun	ring	anillu	shiwi	no	no	es	ministerio	clothing
adjective	ambitious	ansioso	chikikuna	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	feelings
noun	loader	apardur	aparik	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	professions
noun	earrings	aritis	ririwarkuna	no	no	es	ministerio	clothing
noun	at sign	arruba	almu	no	no	es	ministerio	quantity
noun	breast	chuchu	chuchu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	the body
noun	Land property	asienda	wasipunku	no	no	es	ministerio	type of buildings
noun	helper	aidadur	yanapak	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
noun	agriculture tool	azadun	llachu	no	no	es	ministerio	agriculture and tools
adjective	blue	azul	ankas	no	no	es	ministerio	colour
adjective	blue	azulashca	ankashka	no	no	es	ministerio	colour

### 3.4 Statistical Analysis

All figures and statistical analyses in section 4 were created using the R programming software for the data analysis (R Core Team, 2020). The *barplot* function was used for graphing and the *glm* (generalized linear model) function from the *lme4* package (Bates et al., 2015) was used in section 4.4. In this model, *language of origin* was used as the dependant variable and *semantic category* was the independent variable.

## 4 Results

As mentioned previously, this is primarily an exploratory study with the aim of better understanding differences and similarities between Imbabura Kichwa, spoken in the community of Agualongo, and Unified Kichwa with respect to their lexicons. Based on my own personal experiences and speaking with other community members from Agualongo, people often struggle to understand the standardized language, which has far-reaching consequences that hinder the initial purpose of Unified Kichwa, which focused on revitalizing the language and improving its social prestige throughout the country. In fact, results from this section suggest that Unified Kichwa might even be so distant from natively spoken Kichwa that the languages are not mutually intelligible and may even be labelled as an artificial language, like Esperanto, spoken by purist groups, bilingual educators, and politicians. The following sections aim to break down and compare the lexicons of both languages and reveal some of the factors that might be creating the divisions between natively spoken Agualongo Kichwa and Unified Kichwa.

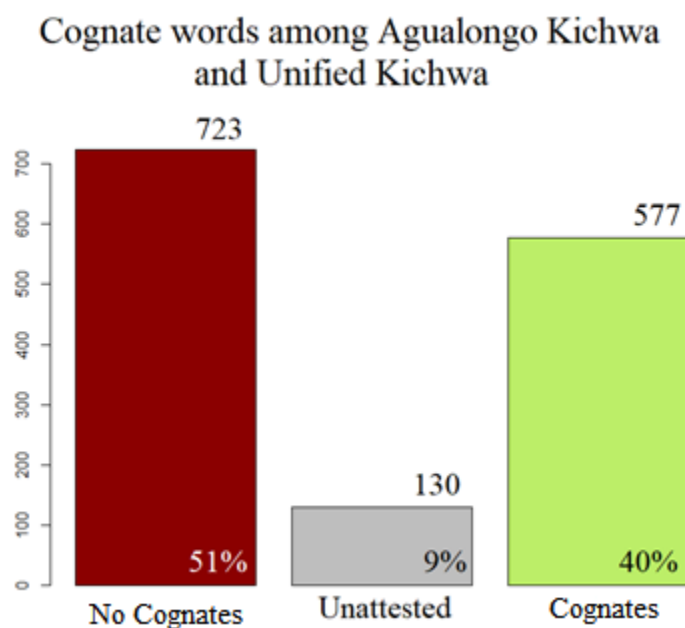
These results are divided into four sections. In the first section, I identify how many cognate words exist between Agualongo Kichwa and Unified Kichwa. In the second section, I further analyze cognates and identify how many exhibit differences in orthography, which if they are not explicitly taught when learning Unified Kichwa in the bilingual schools could affect the pronunciation of a word, leading to further differences in the two language varieties. The third section focuses on Spanish origin words in Agualongo Kichwa and looks at the distribution of borrowings based on part of speech. These words are then compared with their cognates in Unified Kichwa to determine how they are dealt with by those creating the standardized language based on standardized orthography. The fourth and final section then looks at the words from a historical perspective to show what words originating from Kichwa (pre-contact) vs. Spanish (post-contact)

can tell us about borrowings trends and attempts at unification through neologisms. This is then taken a step further and analyzes borrowing trends based on semantic categories to identify, which if any categories, stand out as being more conservative with respect to borrowings. This final section makes use of a generalized linear model to have an objective metric for identifying statistically significant differences in borrowing trends based on semantic category.

#### 4.1 Cognates in Agualongo Kichwa and Unified Kichwa

This section aims to identify how many cognate words exist between Agualongo Kichwa and Unified Kichwa. Figure 4-1 reveals that 51% (N=723) of all the lexical items analyzed (N=1430) are not cognates (i.e., do not have a common origin) and an additional 9% (N=130) were not found in any of the current Unified Kichwa dictionaries (e.g., *canguil* ‘popcorn’ from Spanish *canguil* does not appear in Unified Kichwa). Therefore, only 40% of the sample between Agualongo Kichwa and Unified Kichwa have common etymological roots. However, that does not mean the words that are cognates are identical, for example, phonological changes can make cognates range from slightly different (e.g., UK: *puyu* [puju] ‘fog/cloud’ & AK: *fuyu* [ɸuɟu]) to unrecognizable (e.g., UK: *kariyay* [karijari] ‘become a man’ & AK: *jariana* [xariana] ‘become a man’). Section 4.2 examines these phonological differences in more detail.



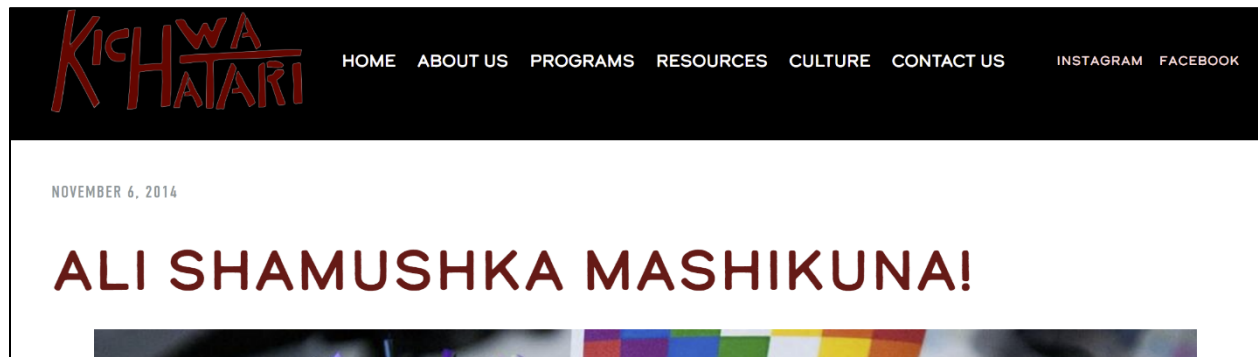


*Figure 4-1: Agualongo Kichwa Lexicon based on Language of Origin*

## 4.2 Orthographic differences in cognate pairs

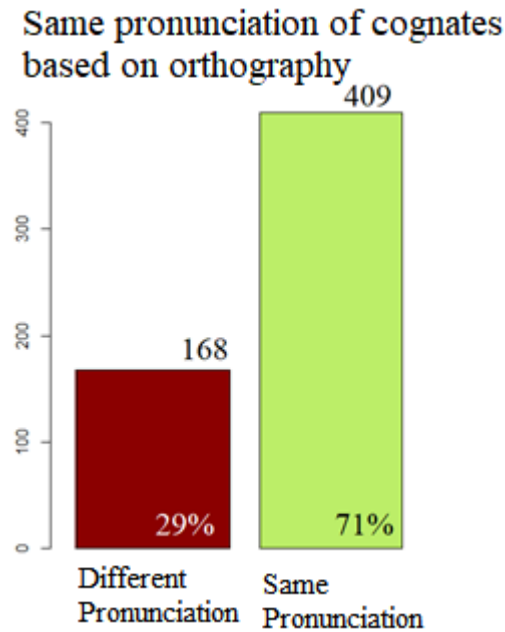
Now that it has been established that there is a large lexical difference with respect to cognate pairs in Unified Kichwa and Agualongo Kichwa, I am now going to look specifically at the cognate pairs to identify how many have orthographic differences that could lead to different pronunciations from Agualongo Kichwa, which could further distance the Unified Kichwa vocabulary from Agualongo Kichwa. This section specifically analyzes possible misinterpretations from the orthography that could result in differences in pronunciations. For example, <k>, <c>, and <qu> before an <a> would still be marked as ‘same’ given that both would be pronounced as [k]; however, <ll> and <l> would be marked as different since the former could be interpreted as either [ʒ] or [l] and the latter only as [l]; this is one of the downfalls on the unified writing system if it were to capture community variations in pronunciation. For example, *alli* ‘good’ in southern varieties of Kichwa and in Unified Kichwa is pronounced as [aʒi], while the same word in Imbabura would be pronounced as [ali]. In fact most people who write community Kichwa

varieties in Imbabura would likely use an <l>, which sometimes even makes its way into Unified Kichwa by Imbabura speakers. Specifically note the title of the article from Kichwa Hatari shown in Figure 4-2 (<https://www.kichwahatari.org/blog/2014/11/06/alli-shamushka>), a collective of Kichwa artists and activists from Imbabura, which shows <ll> in the URL in *alli* ‘good’ and uses the unified spelling on their website, except for the <l> in *ali* ‘good’ in the actual page. It should also be noted that the word *hatari* ‘rise up’ is clearly from Imbabura as other varieties use *katari* with a <k>.



*Figure 4-2: Ali shamushka mashikuna! ‘Welcome Friends!’ and Kichwa Hatari ‘rise up Kichwa’ found on the home page of the Kichwa Hatari website accessed on 23-Oct-2021.*

Results from this analysis, shown in Figure 4-3, reveal that 71% of the cognates under analysis (N=409) have orthographic equals that would match how a speaker of Agualongo Kichwa and Unified Kichwa might pronounce a word.



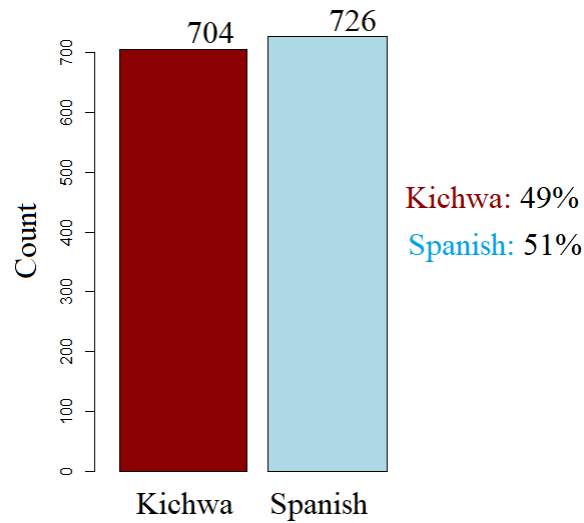
*Figure 4-3: The number of cognate words that can be interpreted as having equivalent pronunciations in Agualongo Kichwa and Unified Kichwa*

This result indicates that there are an additional 168 words that do not necessarily map on to Agualongo Kichwa. It therefore distances Unified Kichwa that much more from native speakers of the language if one looks at the language as a whole. In addition, 29% (N=409) of the words analyzed (N=1430) show some degree of variation that likely requires accommodation.

### 4.3 Word distribution based on language of origin

This section aims to answer the third research question involving how many lexical items in Agualongo Kichwa are of Spanish origin. Figure 4-4 shows that Agualongo Kichwa contains a substantial number of lexical borrowings from Spanish, based on the wordlist under analysis. In fact, there are roughly an even number of Spanish-origin words and native Kichwa words, with Spanish slightly taking the lead.

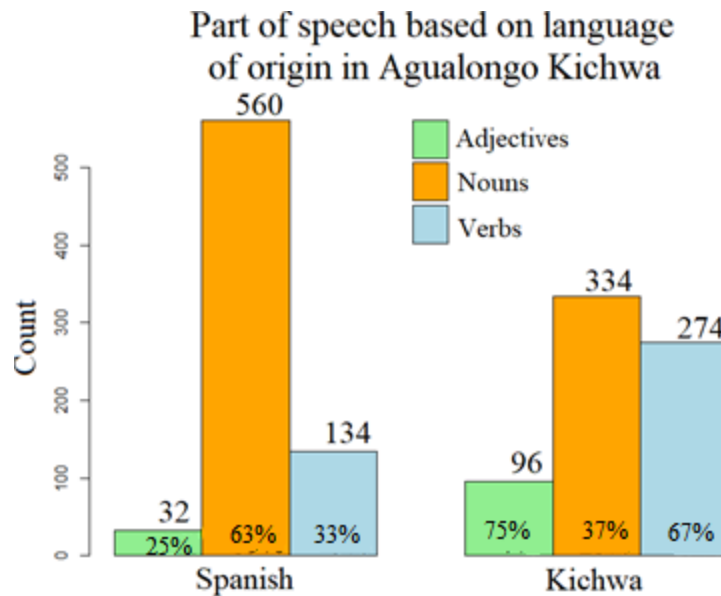
### Number of Lexical items based on Language of origin in Agualongo Kichwa



*Figure 4-4: Agualongo Kichwa Lexicon based on Language of Origin*

The results from Figure 4-4 reveal that the lexical items of Spanish origin reach 51% (N=726) while Native Kichwa lexical items reach 49% (N=704). These percentages are similar to those found in Stewart, Prado Ayala, Gonza Inlago (2020) for Pijal Kichwa, which had a slightly more conservative distribution with only 42% of the lexical items being of Spanish origin while 57% were native Kichwa lexical items.

Given that there is such a strong propensity toward Spanish borrowings, further analysis was conducted to find out whether a given part of speech might be more inclined toward borrowings (this will be further explored in section 4.4). This analysis focused solely on nouns, verbs, and adjectives as they were the most common parts of speech making up 90% of the wordlist.



*Figure 4-5: Agualongo Kichwa Lexicon based on language of origin and part of speech*

Results from Figure 4-5 show several interesting distributions. The first being that noun<sup>7</sup> of the sample no matter their origin, are by far the most common part of speech in Agualongo Kichwa outweighing all others 1.5 to 1. Secondly, 75% of adjectives and 67% of verbs are more conservative with respect to borrowings than nouns. In fact, if it were not for nouns, the Agualongo Kichwa would have a mostly Kichwa origin vocabulary.

With these distributions now available, it is easier to see how misguided notions of language purity have manifested with those looking to create the standardized language. This is even more apparent as purists are primarily concerned with the large number of Spanish borrowings, and not so concerned with less apparent grammatical borrowings. Therefore, may purists believe that removing Spanish borrowings will help return the language to its ‘pure’ pre-contact form. The question now becomes, how are purists going about this? Are they focusing on

<sup>7</sup> (Haspelmath et al., 2008) mentioned that nouns are borrowed preferentially “because they receive, not assign, thematic roles”, so “their insertion in another language is less disruptive of predicate-argument structure”.

Spanish borrowings as a whole, or are they focusing on nouns where the vast majority of borrowings are found?

Figure 4-6 (left) reveals that in Unified Kichwa not a single Spanish word remained from Agualongo Kichwa. The distribution shows that 83% (N=602) have been replaced by neologisms and that 17% (N=124) are not attested in the Unified Kichwa dictionaries. With respect to part of speech, Figure 4-6 (right) suggests that nouns have not necessarily had more attention given to them by the creators of the Unified Kichwa compared to other parts of speech, as the distributions remain similar. In fact, in this data set adjectives and verbs contain slightly more neologisms comparatively. Instead, it appears the focus has been on Spanish borrowings, no matter the category. The following section (4.4) dives deeper into the borrowing trends in Agualongo Kichwa based on semantic category.

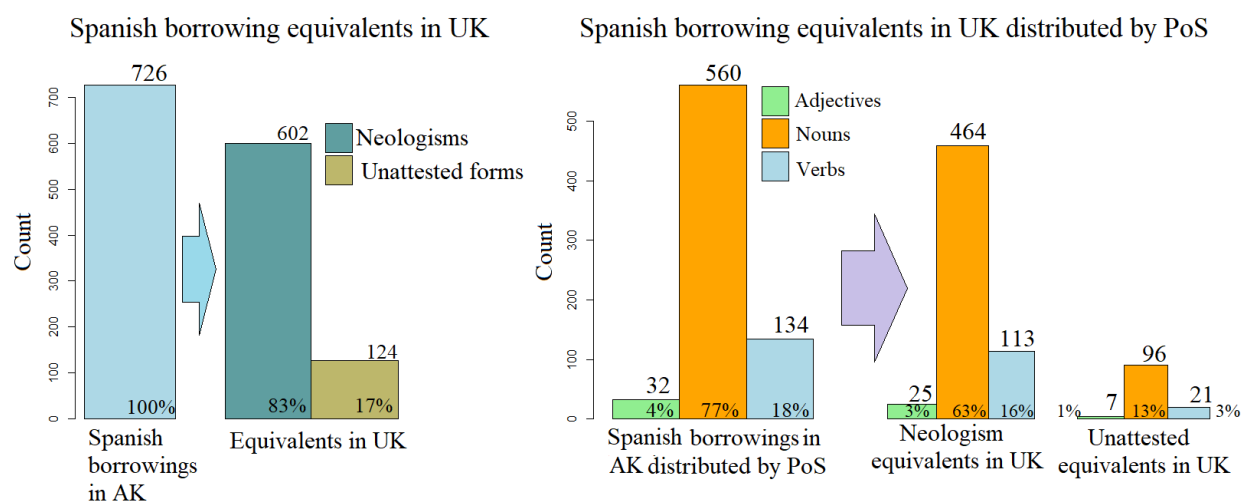


Figure 4-6: This figure shows how Spanish borrowings are handled in Unified Kichwa as a whole (left) and with respect to part of speech (right).

#### 4.4 Borrowing trends in based on language of origin and semantic categories

With the distributional information based on language of origin (Kichwa 49% & Spanish 51%), we can analyze semantic categories based whether a word is Kichwa in origin or Spanish in origin. The results from this analysis should reveal whether specific categories are more conservative in their borrowing trends or rely primarily on Spanish when adding lexical items. I hypothesize that semantic categories that contain more traditional cultural references e.g., food and drink will likely conserve a greater number of native Kichwa items while categories introduced after the arrival of the Spanish e.g., modern tools, will contain more Spanish borrowings.

The following analysis of semantic categories focuses specifically on words with known origins in Agualongo Kichwa. It should also be noted that these data are primarily based on nouns and adjectives; verbs have been removed from this analysis. Figure 4-7 illustrates the semantic categories from Agualongo Kichwa based on language of Origin. Some of the more apparent trends show that native Kichwa origin words have no lexical items for *office and activities*, *school materials*, and *transportation*, while the only category lacking Spanish origin lexical items involves *directions*. It is also worth noting that the most conservative category appears to be *texture, shape, and flavour* while the *people and activities* category has quite a balanced split with a large number of lexical items in both the Spanish origin and Kichwa origin data.

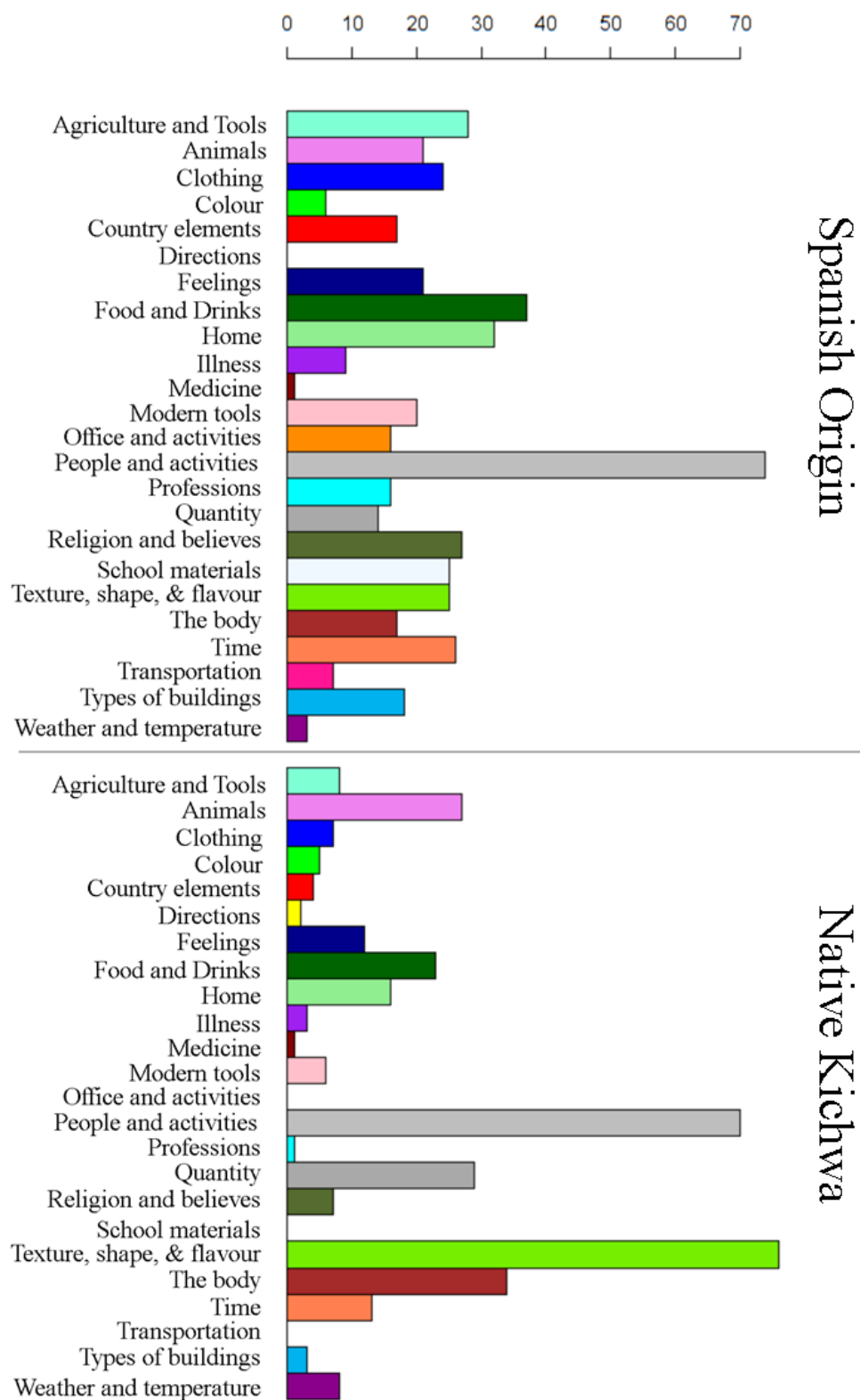


Figure 4-7: Semantic categories separated by Spanish origin words and native Kichwa origin words.



To better understand the trends in the data, I ran a generalized linear model (see Table 4-1), which shows several significant findings. *Transport* was used as a baseline category for comparison since all items in this category are of Spanish origin (e.g., *barcu* for ‘boat’ from Spanish *barco*). Therefore, if a category is significant, it should be interpreted as significantly ‘conservative’ (i.e., this category maintains Kichwa-origin words while others have been more open to borrowings). Categories that have remained significantly ‘conservative’ (again, have maintained a substantial number of native Kichwa words) include: animals (44%), colours (45%), feelings (36%), food and drinks (38%), home (33%), people and activities (49%), quantity (67%), directions (100%), textures-shape-flavour (75%), the body (67%), time (33%), and weather and temperature (72%). It is worth noting that even though these categories were found to be significantly conservative, as Gómez-Rendón (2007, p. 517) pointed out, every semantic field in Quichua has been influenced by Spanish to some degree and Gómez-Rendón and Adelaar (2007) show that semantic categories are not homogenous with respect to the number of lexical borrowings from Spanish. The one exception appears to be ‘directions’ (e.g., *vichayman* ‘incline’) however, this category only contained two items, therefore it is likely that Spanish borrowings have entered in this category somewhere.

*Table 4-1: Results of a generalized linear model predicting the probability that a given word will appear in a given semantic category based on its language of origin.*

	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	Pr(> t )
(Intercept)_transport	1	1.70E-01	5.885	5.83E-09
Semantic field: agriculture and tools	-0.2222	1.86E-01	-1.197	0.231843
Semantic field: animal	-0.5625	1.82E-01	-3.092	0.002054
Semantic field: clothing	-0.2258	1.88E-01	-1.2	0.230425
Semantic field: colour	-0.4545	2.17E-01	-2.091	0.036838
Semantic field: country and landscape	-0.1905	1.96E-01	-0.971	0.331985
Semantic field: directions	-1	3.61E-01	-2.774	0.005664
Semantic field: feelings	-0.3636	1.87E-01	-1.944	0.052287
Semantic field: food and drinks	-0.3833	1.80E-01	-2.135	0.033086
Semantic field: home	-0.3333	1.82E-01	-1.832	0.067249

Semantic field: illness	-0.25	2.14E-01	-1.169	0.242687
Semantic field: medicine	-0.5	3.61E-01	-1.387	0.165819
Semantic field: modern tools	-0.2308	1.92E-01	-1.205	0.228408
Semantic field: office activities	-3.9E-15	2.04E-01	0	1
Semantic field: people and activities	-0.4861	1.74E-01	-2.793	5.34E-03
Semantic field: professions	-0.05882	2.02E-01	-0.291	0.770873
Semantic field: quantity	-0.6744	1.83E-01	-3.68	0.000248
Semantic field: Religion and beliefs	-0.2059	1.87E-01	-1.103	2.70E-01
Semantic field: school materials	-5.7E-15	1.92E-01	0	1.00E+00
Semantic field: texture, shape, and flavour	-0.7525	1.76E-01	-4.282	2.07E-05
Semantic field: the body	-0.6667	1.81E-01	-3.679	0.00025
Semantic field: time	-0.3333	1.85E-01	-1.806	0.071268
Semantic field: type of buildings	-0.1429	1.96E-01	-0.728	0.466806
Semantic field: weather and temperature	-0.7273	2.17E-01	-3.346	0.000859

Categories that contain substantial numbers of Spanish origin items (essentially, Spanish) include: transport (100%), agriculture and tools (78%), clothes (77%), country elements (80%), illness (75%), medicine (50%), office activities (100%), professions (94%), religion and beliefs (79%), school materials (100%), type of buildings (86%).

The results from this analysis show that not only has Spanish entered into every semantic category, but the percentages of Spanish origin lexical items are substantially higher than native Quichua items. One explanation for this may be that nouns are more conducive to borrowings (as seen in Figure 4-6) compared to verbs, which were removed due to their semantic categorizations not being compatible with the latter categories.

## 5 Discussion

This study compared and analyzed a sample of lexical items from Unified Kichwa (UK) and Agualongo Kichwa (AK) based on origin, cognate status, pronunciation, part of speech, and semantic category. To my knowledge this is the first time a quantitative approach has been used to analyze the differences between a native variety of Kichwa, as it is spoken in a community, with Unified Kichwa. The major findings can be summed up as follows:

- Only 29% of Unified Kichwa sample faithfully reflects Agualongo Kichwa with respect to both its lexicon and its probable pronunciation.
- Kichwa is a noun heavy language, and most Spanish borrowings are nouns.
- There are a number of semantic categories that preserve more native Kichwa items than others, namely; animals (44%), colours (45%), feelings (36%), food and drinks (38%), home (33%), people and activities (49%), quantity (67%), directions (100%), textures-shape-flavour (75%), the body (67%), time (33%), and weather and temperature (72%).

With respect to the first point, it may not seem like pronunciation is necessarily a hindrance, after all most languages around the world vary in some degree with respect to pronunciation from their standard variety (assuming that they have one). The same can be said for Kichwa; most speakers are not going to encounter difficulty when they hear *fuyu* [fuju] ‘fog/cloud’ vs. *puyu* [puju] ‘fog/cloud’ and if they do, it is likely that once the word is recognized, it will not be an issue when heard in the future. The same could be said with English; if a speaker encounters ‘dog’ pronounced as [dɒg] vs. [dɔg] vs. [dag] intelligibility likely will not be hindered. However, this is not always the case e.g., Brad Pitt’s pronunciation of ‘dog’ in the movie *Snatch* as [dæg] might leave some North American speakers of English wondering what they just heard. The same can be

said for Kichwa; a speaker from Imbabura would likely struggle to understand the word ‘pretty’ in the same way. For example, in Imbabura one might say [xujaila], in Salcedo Kichwa one might say [k’uiza], and in Unified Kichwa, it is written as <kuyaylla>, which based on the orthography would likely be interpreted as [kujaiza], which coincidentally means something completely different in Agualongo (an interjection meaning, ‘long live!’). However, this is not the main issue when it comes to pronunciation. The fact is, educators who teach Unified Kichwa often tell their students that they are pronouncing a word used in their community dialect ‘incorrectly’<sup>8</sup>, which further reduces the legitimacy of their own Kichwa and puts its transmission to future generations in a precarious position. While the government issued dictionary, Yachakukunapa Shimiyyuk Kamu, indeed provides different ways of pronouncing a word, this has its own problems as one cannot teach a student 4 ways of saying the same word without additional guidance, which is not provided in the resource. One way to circumvent this issue is to teach educators how to apply phonological rules and regional variation to their teaching so that a student can look at a word and know how it is said, even if the spelling is not completely faithful to their dialect. For example, students should be explicitly taught that voiceless stops are voiced after nasals, so when they encounter *wasimanta* ‘from the house’, they know to pronounce the <t> as [d]. Regional variation is also important so that students who encounter <ll> know in which words it is pronounced as [l] and in which words it is pronounced as [ɮ] e.g., *allku* ‘dog’ [alku], but *pukllana* ‘play’ as [pukɮana]. This would also apply to the pronunciation of inflectional morphology, such as the plural marker *-kuna* and the diminutive marker *-ku* which are pronounced as [guna] and [gu] respectively throughout most of Imbabura. Teaching such rules allows speakers to maintain a single unified spelling system but allows for flexibility in pronunciation. This is not an impossible feat with

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<sup>8</sup> Based on my experience

proper education as many languages around the world with standard varieties pass along regional pronunciation without issue. For example, a schoolteacher in Canada pronounces the <ou> in ‘about’ as [ʌʊ] whereas a teacher in the United States would pronounce it as [aʊ]. The same thing can be said for French, in Montreal a teacher would pronounce *même* ‘same’ as [mãĩm] but in Paris they would say [mẽĩm]. All this to say, these words have different regional pronunciations, but identical spellings. Therefore, it is vital that educators who teach Unified Kichwa be intimately familiar with the regional pronunciation, and most importantly *use* it when teaching.

The larger issue at play here is the wholesale replacement of the Spanish-origin vocabulary (in the case of Agualongo Kichwa this is 51% of the lexicon) with mostly invented neologisms that are unknown to the actual speakers of the language. For comparison, 51% is less than the lexical similarity between English and French (56%), which are clearly unintelligible languages (Nation, 2001). Now imagine, if a group of educators and language purists decided to remove all French/Latin origin words from English and then teach a single ‘correct’ way of pronouncing unrecognizable new words. They would be labelled as radicals or crackpots for pursuing such an idea. This last point is exactly what is happening in Ecuador; a small minority of self described ‘linguists’ and ‘language purists’ have decided that the best way to revitalize Kichwa is to create a new, artificial language that is unintelligible to native speakers of Kichwa. For example, my grandmother put it best in this conversation between her and my sister who learned Unified Kichwa on the internet:

Sister: *Maypitak rumpaka kan?* ‘Where is the ball?’

Grandmother: *Ima laya?! ‘What is that?!’*

Sister: *balunshna kan* ‘It’s like a ball.’

Grandmother: *Chaymanda ‘maypita balunca can’ ningui!* ‘So, say “where is the ball” then!’

As can be seen from this short interaction between my sister and grandmother, the Spanish origin word for ‘ball’ is *balun* from Spanish *balón*, while *rumpa* is the unified word for ‘ball’, which could be misinterpreted, if understood at all, as ‘circle’. This is a clear example that for native speakers of Kichwa, most Spanish origin words are nativized in the language and speakers do not think of them as Spanish in the same way an English speaker would not give a second thought to words like ‘condor, puma, quinoa, or llama’ as being of Quechuan origin. Therefore, there is clear push back from native speakers when they encounter Unified Kichwa lexical items. Table 5-1 provides additional examples of additional nativized words of Spanish origin, with some archaic Spanish preservations as well.

*Table 5-1: Nativized Spanish Borrowed Words in Agualongo Community Kichwa*

Nativized Spanish	Spanish gloss	Unified Kichwa	English
<i>aidana</i>	<i>ayudar</i>	<i>yanapana</i>	Help
<i>pagui</i>	<i>gracias</i> from <i>dios se lo <b>pague</b></i> ‘God will reward you’	<i>yupaychani</i>	Thanks
<i>gushtu</i>	<i>gusto</i>	<i>malli</i>	Good
<i>pantiun</i>	<i>panteon</i>	<i>ayapampa</i>	Cemetery
<i>minishtina</i>	<i>necesitar</i> from <i>menester</i> (archaic)	<i>añispañikachay</i>	Need
<i>fiero</i>	<i>feo</i> from <i>fiero</i> (archaic)	<i>hiritsa, irus</i>	Ugly
<i>Colira</i>	<i>enojado</i> from <i>cólera</i> (archic)	<i>piña</i>	Angry

This being said, it should also be mentioned that not all attempts at language purification have ended in failure. For example, there are instances where language purism has been successful, mostly under authoritarian regimes, where speakers have shifted to a 'purified' variety. Some examples include Turkish, North Korean, and Tamil. However, in more democratic countries attempts at language purism have often ended in failure due to push back from the proletariat majority (South Korean), only gain marginal acceptance (Standard modern Greek), or end up with a conservative 'academy' that constantly pushes back against the way people actually speak. Purists

will often reference Icelandic as a successful case of language purification in a democratic country; however, there are a number of substantial differences between the Icelandic context and the Ecuadorian context that make comparing the two problematic. For example, there are no competing languages natively spoken in Iceland and speakers hold their language with high social prestige. However, there is one important comparison with Kichwa. Icelandic's 'ultrapurism' movement, which aimed to eliminate all historical loanwords from modern Icelandic, has not been successful at gaining traction and removing all historical loanwords, in addition to recent loanwords, is exactly Kichwa purists in Ecuador are attempting to do.

This leads to the second bullet point, if Spanish borrowings are indeed an issue facing revitalization efforts, maybe a common ground could be reached. There could be a more targeted approach that focuses on specific parts of speech or, as noted in the third bullet point, specific semantic categories<sup>9</sup>. Another approach could be to integrate neologisms, not as 'replacements', but rather as 'synonyms'. This would facilitate intergenerational conversations and not make speakers without access to Unified Kichwa classes feel like they are speaking an inferior language variety. Similar tactics need to be employed with respect to community radio broadcasts and government TV stations broadcasting in Kichwa. There is no point in broadcasting important information, like the COVID-19 discussion in section 2.2.4, in an artificial language that is only understood by a small minority of privileged speakers. Martinez (2014) shares a similar sentiment stating that, "political and institutional efforts of promoting a standardized Kichwa are experienced as 'limited access' to rural Kichwa Indigenous populations, despite being seen as successful by particular communities" (p. 33). However, the teaching of Unified Kichwa has not been promoted

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<sup>9</sup> However, this is complicated given that communities show heterogenous distributions with respect to the number of borrowings in a given semantic category. For example, Gómez-Rendón and Adelaar (2007) showed that the category of *clothing and grooming* had a moderate number of borrowings (36%-65%) (p. 16) while the data from this study shows 77% of the lexical items in *clothing* are from Spanish.

in Agualongo beyond the local community radio station due to the lack of government concern about Kichwa. It is the reason why the community radio has managed to transmit a limited number of Unified words, such as *mashi* ‘friend’ (more on this later). Unified Kichwa, in this respect, is not unifying speakers, but rather creating divisions and actually promoting language shift towards Spanish since so few actual speakers understand it and are being told they are not speaking their native language correctly by ‘educated’ promoters of the Unified variety.

The third bullet point shows that there are a number of semantic categories that preserve a significant number of lexical items from Kichwa. These include animals, colours, feelings, food and drinks, home, people and activities, quantity, directions, textures-shape-flavour, the body, time, and weather and temperature. Therefore, it stands to reason that adding a limited number of neologisms to these categories first might have been more acceptable to speakers than trying to replace every Spanish lexical item in, for example, the category of school supplies or transport. A parent helping their child with a homework assignment cannot be expected to know what a *killkanakaspi* ‘pencil’ means when they have been saying *lapis* their entire life. Additionally, even if they could deduce what this word means, *killkana* ‘to write’ and *kaspi* ‘stick’ (essentially a ‘writing stick’), they would still have to contest with the undecipherable neologism *killana*, which is *iscribina* in community Kichwa, from Spanish *escribir*. Note that *killana* originates from *qilqay*, in a completely different Quechuan language spoken in Peru, which originally meant ‘to draw’; in Ecuadorian Kichwa this verb is *shuyana* or more commonly *dibujana* from Spanish *dibujar*. As mentioned previously, (Gómez-Rendón, 2007, p. 512) assessment that every semantic category has been influenced by Spanish is substantiated in this study.

In terms of the nativization of Spanish borrowings, overhauling the lexicon is not as simple as removing Spanish borrowings since they are, for all intents and purposes, Kichwa words in the



eyes of Kichwa speakers (as per my grandmother's comment). Therefore, the replacement of Spanish borrowings with neologisms is actually the replacement of familiar Kichwa vocabulary with unfamiliar Kichwa vocabulary. Another facet of nativization that is often overlooked in Kichwa is semantic shift. We have words borrowed centuries ago like *micha* from Spanish *mecha* 'candle wick', which has now shifted to mean 'electricity'. How is this polysemy accounted for in Unified Kichwa? Well, *micha* as 'candle wick' is ignored in both the government issued dictionary and in the Shimiyukkam dictionary and 'electricity' is referenced as *sirma* in the latter and *zirmay* in the former, neither which are interpretable as 'electricity' to an Agualongo Kichwa speaker just by looking at the word.

The next issue raised from this study has to do with language shift. Before hand, let's revisit the thought experiment where prescriptivists have removed every French/Latin origin word from English and replaced them with unfamiliar neologisms<sup>10</sup>; and let's also say these English speakers are bilinguals in French; and that French is the prestigious language in the region where one can gain access to economic opportunities and health care. Is it easier to learn the new artificial language, which is now more distant from the prestigious language, or simply shift to French so your children might have a chance at succeeding in French society? Speakers in Agualongo are faced with this exact same scenario as it is located close to three cities where Spanish is the language used for all things related to economics and commerce (Otavalo 7 km away, Cotacachi 9 km away, and Atuntaqui 6 km away). Because of this, Agualongo has become a bilingual community through constant contact with the primarily Spanish speakers in these cities. In

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<sup>10</sup> The creation of neologisms has focused on the coinage, the expansion of meaning, lexical rescue, and the adoption of words from other indigenous languages such as Aymara and Quechua to consolidate the proposal for the standardization of the Kichwa language. However, the borrowed words from Spanish have been replaced by neologisms due to the violence that indigenous peoples have faced at the hands of the Spanish throughout the colonial and republic eras, Ariruma Kowii (2013).

Agualongo, many people have had to leave the community in search for better job opportunities, education, and none of this is possible without learning Spanish. (Acosta, 2017) explains that Kichwa speakers may experience dialect changes because of migration, bilingualism, geographical situation, and contact with another language, so the fact that Agualongo Community Kichwa is so heavily influenced by the Spanish spoken in the cities that surround Agualongo is not surprising.

Now imagine you did not have access to education beyond primary school and you are not a fluent speaker of Spanish, even though you get by in day-to-day interactions with Spanish speakers as you sell your goods in the market (this is a common scenario for many older Kichwa speakers). Would you prefer to be a monolingual speaker of Unified Kichwa or Agualongo Kichwa where you can at least identify 51% of the cognates in your native language with Spanish, or zero cognates? The answer is pretty clear, guessing at a word that has at least some cross-language commonalities is easier than guessing at a word that is completely foreign. For example, the word *rebajana* ‘reduce’ in Agualongo Kichwa has more in common with Spanish *rebajar*, than unified Kichwa *urayana*, reinterpreted from ‘to physically lower’ or Kichwa *bordana* ‘to embroider’ vs. Spanish *bordar* vs. Unified Kichwa *chantana*, the latter likely derived from a variety of llama. There is also the more commonly used Spanish origin numeric system, mostly used beyond 10. Additional uninterpretable neologisms are presented in Table 5-2.

*Table 5-2: New Borrowed Words vs Neologisms*

Agualongo Community Kichwa	Neologisms	Etymology	English
<i>biciclita</i>	<i>antampiu</i>	anta ‘steal’, apiu ‘horse’ (both are neologisms themselves with <i>jerro</i> ‘metal/iron’ & <i>bistia</i> ‘beast/horse’ used in native Kichwa)	bike
<i>bancu</i>	<i>kullkikamakwasi</i>	kullki ‘money’, -kama ‘caretaker’, wasi ‘house’	bank
<i>carru</i>	<i>antawa</i>	anta ‘steal’, wiwa ‘animal’	car
<i>cumputadura</i>	<i>Antanikik</i>	anta ‘steal’ niki ‘ordinal morpheme’ k ‘agentive’	computer

Therefore, if the goal of Unified Kichwa is to replace community Kichwa, the effects of this might be detrimental for future generations if access to education beyond primary school is still as difficult as it is today. The same can be said for Kichwa speaking children entering school for the first time. They currently have a head start in learning Spanish through cognate identification whereas a monolingual speaker of Unified Kichwa would not. These are of course hypothetical scenarios, but the effects of Unified Kichwa without economic improvement for its speakers might have unforeseen detrimental effects for future generations living in a bilingual society where the languages are already intimately intertwined.

One particularly problematic Unified Kichwa word is *mashi* ‘friend,’ which is one of the words most often mentioned by bilingual teachers, students, coworkers, neighbours, and politicians. This word has been appropriated by Community Kichwa and Mestizo Spanish speakers alike and has become an integral part of Indigenous cultural identity, but it has substituted other terms that are semantically rich in many community Kichwa varieties. Table 5-7 illustrates some of these examples. In community varieties of Kichwa the way one refers to a friend changes depending on gender, appreciation, and formality, see (Table 5-7Table 5-3). For example, the Kichwa word *ñañaku* is used when the speaker and the receptor are women meaning ‘little sister’. Similarly, when the speaker and receptor are both men, they use the word *wayki* meaning ‘brother’.

Table 5-3: Different Terms to Refer to “Friend” in the Community

Term	literal meaning	When to use
<i>Ayllu</i>	Family	Best friend, neighbor
<i>Tiyu/ tiya</i>	aunt/ uncle	Neighbor, friend
<i>Kumary</i>	Derived from: <i>acompañante</i> ‘companion’	Female Friend, neighbor
<i>Kumbary</i>	Derived from: <i>compañero</i> ‘companion’	Masculine friend, neighbor
<i>Ñañaku</i>	Sister of a female	Formal way to say female friend, neighbor from female receptor
<i>Turi</i>	Brother of a female	Formal way to say masculine friend, neighbor from female receptor
<i>Wayki</i>	Brother of a male	Neighbor, friend for and from Masculine receptor
<i>Amigu</i>	Male friend	Colloquial way to say male friend
<i>Amiga</i>	Female friend	Colloquial way to say female friend
<i>Vezinu/ vizi</i>	Neighbor	When the neighbor is not a close friend

This is a prime example of how a Unified Kichwa term can enter the vocabulary of community speakers of Kichwa and replace ancestral Kichwa terms which have diverse usages. Today, this word is used by the majority of Kichwa speakers. Only the elders in my rural community use these other terms to refer to friends, and when I travel to cities, such as Otavalo, the most commonly used term for ‘friend’ is undoubtedly *mashi*. As a result, Unified Kichwa is also responsible for the degradation of lexical richness of the language.

This is just another layer that has lead elders and speakers of Kichwa to believe that their language is worthless. This is explicitly seen in the usage of the term *yanga shimi* which means ‘useless language’ used by speakers when referring to Kichwa. One of my consultant’s called one of their friends and asked them to come over and speak Kichwa with her for this project and she said, *utsia shamuy yangashimi parlangapa* ‘come over quickly to speak [this] useless language’. This term first appeared with Mestizo school teachers condemning the use of Kichwa, and now it is being perpetuated as community members are ideologically bound to the linguistic purity promoted by those who support a Unified Kichwa.

## 5.1 Limitations

This study had a number of limitations. The primary limitation was due to the COVID-19 pandemic, which meant I was not able to travel to collect data with speakers face-to-face, this likely would have resulted in more insights into their intuitions, and I could have spent more time understanding how they interpret lexical items from Unified Kichwa. For example, it is still unclear how many neologisms can be interpreted by community speakers of Kichwa.

Additionally, because the wordlist was originally based on Kichwa from the community of Pijal, there may have been specific terms or concepts that were overlooked in Agualongo Kichwa. These may have provided additional insight. Similarly, Agualongo is just one of dozens of Kichwa speaking communities in Imbabura; each one with their own innovations and intra-community terms. Therefore, this study cannot speak to Imbabura Kichwa as a whole, which would provide a wealth of insight into how other communities are handling Unified Kichwa. There might be communities that are not struggling with Unified Kichwa and may be adopting it with open arms, while other communities may be in a worse situation than Agualongo.

Finally, this thesis only focuses on the Kichwa lexicon. There are numerous morphosyntactic differences that also distance Community Kichwa from Unified Kichwa that need to be accounted for in future studies. This would provide a fuller picture of the true effects of implementing the unified system.

## 6 Conclusion

Whether one likes it or not, Spanish has been intimately intertwined with Kichwa; a fact reflected in both languages spoken in Ecuador. Over the last 500 years since colonization, nearly half of Kichwa's vocabulary has become Spanish whether by direct lexical replacement or simply by adding in new words as the language evolves. This has caused language purists in privileged positions to take unprecedented action to remediate this supposed problem. Instead of understanding basic principles of linguistic evolution and understanding that borrowings are one of the most common and natural ways of expanding a lexicon, as is seen with any of the most spoken languages in the world (English, Mandarin, Hindi, Spanish, French, Arabic, Bengali, Russian etc.). Purists have decided to attempt to reverse this natural process and return to a time before Spanish was known about on the continent. While the Spanish conquest has scarred the continent and continues to do so, this is part of our history that is reflected in our language; erasing it would be akin to forgetting our struggles and achievements over the last 500 years.

The results of unification may have had good intentions for improving the social prestige of Kichwa. However, instead of providing moderate suggestions to helping speakers to recover lost words, purists have essentially attempted to rid 51% of the lexicon and replace it with mostly unknown neologisms. This has essentially created a new artificial language that is not accepted by native speakers of Kichwa and, instead of providing benefits to its speakers, it is now undermining a real spoken language that is already in a precarious position.

The goal of this thesis was to show quantitatively that these effects are indeed real and need to be taken into account by language planners and educators. If we continue to implement this standardized language in our bilingual schools, we are putting authentic Kichwa in a perilous

position as we lose the most special parts of Kichwa; its dialectal richness and our history etched into it.

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## Appendix A

### Comparative word list of Agualongo Kichwa and Unified Kichwa

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_A K	Dictionary_U K	Semantic field
noun	april	abril	ayriwa	no	no	es	ministerio	time
verb	choose	acllana	akllana	yes	yes	k	shimiyukkamu	state
verb	sharpen	afilana	apilana	yes	no	k	ministerio	activity
verb	weave	ahuana	awana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	pull	aisana	aysana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	cling	aisarina	aysarina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	improve	alitucuna	sumakyana	no	no	k	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	find	allana	allana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	smooth	amucyachina	amukyachina	yes	yes	k	shimiyukkamu	accomplishment
verb	take off	anchurina	anchurina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	remove	anlluchina	anchuchina	yes	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	bring	apamuna	apamuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	help	aidana	yanapana	no	no	es	ministerio	state
verb	carry	apana	nikllana	no	no	k	nina	activity
verb	load	apanakuna	pushanakuna	no	no	k	nina	state
verb	charge	aparina	aparina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	decompose/crush	apiana	apiyana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	shower/build	armana	armana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	smell	ashnana	ashnana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	increase	ashtana	ashtana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	laugh	asina	asina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	feelings
verb	scratch	aspina	aspina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
verb	punish	astina	wanachay	no	no	k	ministerio	activity
verb	understand/advance	atina	atina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	return	tigrachina	tikrachina	yes	no	k	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	close	bichana	wichkana	no	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	tell	billana	willana	yes	no	k	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	serve	bishina	wishina	yes	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	ride up/upload	bitsicana	sikana	no	no	k	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	run	bulana	kallpana	no	no	k	ministerio	activity
verb	send	cachana	kachana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	accomplishment
noun	friend	amigu	mashi	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
verb	release	cacharina	kacharina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	free	cacharishca	kacharishka	yes	yes	k	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	start	callarina	kallarina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	escape	calpana	kallpana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	roast	camllana	kamchana	yes	no	k	ministerio	activity
verb	be	cana	kana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	bite	canina	kanina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	cut	capana	kapana	yes	yes	k	nina	state
verb	scream	caparina	kaparina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	accomplishment
noun	ring	anillu	shiwi	no	no	es	ministerio	clothing
verb	squeeze	capina	kapina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	give	carana	karana	yes	yes	k	shimiyukkamu	state
adjective	ambitious	ansioso	chikikuna	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	feelings
verb	bite	cashtuna	kashtuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	calm down	casiyana	kasiyana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	continue	catina	katina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	live	causana	kawsana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
verb	relive/revive	causarina	kawsachina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	observe/spy	chapana	chapana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
noun	loader	apapidur	aparik	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	professions
verb	mix	chapuna	chapuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	dry	chaquichina	chakichina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	have	charina	charina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	relax	casiyana	kasiyana	no	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	clap	aplaudina	tyakllay	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	accomplishment
noun	earrings	aritis	rinriwarkuna	no	no	es	ministerio	clothing
verb	accept/ receive	chasquina	chaskina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	separate	chaupina	rakina	no	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	fix	arreglana	sumakyachina	no	no	es	ministerio	accomplishment
noun	at sign	arruba	almu	no	no	es	ministerio	quantity
verb	split	chaupirina	karuyachina	no	no	k	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	arrive	chayana	chayana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	prune	chictana	chiktana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	pinch	chilpina	pitina	no	no	k	ministerio	activity
verb	braid	chimbana	chimpana	yes	no	k	ministerio	activity
verb	lose	chingachina	chinkachina	yes	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	disappear	chingana	chinkana	yes	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	cool down	chiriachina	chiriyachina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	cool	chirina	chirina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	cool	chiriyachina	chiriyachina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	shake	chucchuna	chukchuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
noun	breast	chuchu	chuchu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	the body
noun	Land property	asienda	wasipunku	no	no	es	ministerio	type of buildings
verb	hurt	chugrina	chukrina	yes	no	k	ministerio	state

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
verb	empty	chulunyana	chulunyana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	wear	churana	churana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	put on	churarina	churarina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	stretch	chutana	chutana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	move	cuichina	kuychina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	cut	cuchuna	kuchuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	forget	cungana	kunkana	yes	no	k	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	kneel	cungurina	kunkurina	yes	no	k	shimiyukkamu	activity
verb	grind	cutana	yupana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	warm up	cunuchina	kunuchina	yes	yes	k	nina	state
noun	helper	aidadur	yanapak	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
noun	agriculture tool	azadun	llachu	no	no	es	ministerio	agriculture and tools
adjective	blue	azul	ankas	no	no	es	ministerio	colour
adjective	blue	azulashca	ankashka	no	no	es	ministerio	colour
noun	spit	baba	llawsa	no	no	es	ministerio	the body
adjective	slug	babusa	unik	no	no	es	ministerio	animal
adjective	month	quilla	killa	yes	yes	k	ministerio	feelings
noun	bowl	baita	tunka	no	no	k	nina	home
noun	bucket	baldi	yaputi	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	agriculture and tools
verb	cost	balina	chanina	no	no	es	nina	state
noun	ball	balun	rumpa	no	no	es	nina	people and activities
noun	bank	bancu	kullkikamakwasi	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	type of buildings
verb	finish	cushnichina	kushnichina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
noun	washroom	bañu	ishpanauku	x	x	es	ministerio	home
verb	shuffle	barana	tupuna	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
adjective	cheap	baratu	x	x	x	es	x	quantity
noun	beard	barbas	sunka	no	no	es	ministerio	the body



Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	boat	barcu	wampu	no	no	es	ministerio	transportation
noun	bar	barra	harka	no	no	es	ministerio	agriculture and tools
noun	bowl	batia	ankara	no	no	es	ministerio	home
verb	mix	batina	kawina	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	activity
noun	trunk	baulu	x	x	x	es	x	home
verb	baptize	bautizana	shutiyakuna	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	state
noun	blouse	baita	x	x	x	es	x	home
verb	overcome	benserina	atina	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	spinach	berru	ukururu	no	no	es	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
verb	grind	cutana	kutana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
noun	bike	bicicleta	antampiu	no	no	es	nina	transportation
verb	repeat	cutichina	kutimpay	yes	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	repeat/remake	cutinchina	kutinchina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	move	cuyuchina	kuyuchina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	sweep	fichana	pichana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	break	fitina	pitina	yes	no	k	ministerio	activity
verb	blow	fucuna	pukuna	no	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	hit	guactana	makana	no	no	k	ministerio	activity
verb	wrap	guanguna	maytuna	no	no	k	ministerio	activity
verb	cry	huacana	unayana	no	no	k	ministerio	state
noun	ball	bola	rumpa	no	no	es	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	pocket	bolsillu	kinllu	no	no	es	nina	clothing
noun	willpower/goodwill	boluntad	nunamunay	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	Religion and believes
noun	bomb	bomba	chukay	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
verb	embroider	bordana	chantana	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	activity
verb	erase/delate	borrana	pichana	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	arm	brasu	rikra	no	no	es	ministerio	the body

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	gloss	brillu	llimpi	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	school materials
verb	jump	brincana	kushpana	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
noun	with	bruju	layka	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	people and activities
noun	throat	buche	uksu	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	animal
verb	give	budana	karana	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
adjective	ball	bula	rumpa	no	no	es	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
verb	calve	huachana	wachana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
noun	noise	bullá	chakwa	no	no	es	nina	people and activities
noun	bag	bulsa	wayaka	no	no	es	ministerio	clothing
noun	small backpack	bultu	kipi	no	no	es	ministerio	agriculture and tools
noun	donkey	burru	chantazo	no	no	es	ministerio	animal
noun	us	bus	antawiwa	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	transportation
noun	boots	butas	ushuta	no	no	es	ministerio	clothing
noun	bottle	butella	pukpu	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	home
noun	horse	caballu	apiw	no	no	es	ministerio	animal
noun	cabin	cabaña	chuklla	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	type of buildings
noun	committee	cabildu	kamachik	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
noun	cable	cabli	antawaska	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	modern tools
noun	string	cabuya	waska	no	no	es	ministerio	agriculture and tools
verb	be born	huacharina	wacharina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	hit	huactana	waktana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	ruin/spoil	huaglichina	tunana	no	no	k	shimiyukkamu	state
verb	spoil	huaglina	waklina	no	no	k	ministerio	state
noun	horn	cachu	x	x	x	es	x	animal
adjective	each	cada	sapan	no	no	es	ministerio	quantity
noun	chain	cadina	watu	no	no	es	ministerio	home
noun	coffee	cafe	allka	no	no	es	nina	food and drinks

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
verb	die	huañuna	wañuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	hang	huarcuna	warkuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
noun	cramp	calambri	susunka	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	feelings
noun	boiler	caldira	wichi	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	home
noun	stock	caldu	hilli	no	no	es	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	calendar	calendario	pachantik	no	no	es	ministerio	time
noun	road/path	calijun	kichkiñan	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	country elements
noun	fever	calintura	ruparina	no	no	es	ministerio	feelings
verb	tie	huatana	watana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	fall ill	irquiyana	irkiyana	yes	yes	k	shimiyukkamu	feelings
verb	thresh	iscuna	tikpay	no	no	k	ministerio	activity
verb	thresh	ishcuna	ishkuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
noun	pant	calsun	wara	no	no	es	ministerio	clothing
noun	bed	cama	kawitu	no	no	es	ministerio	home
noun	butcher	camal	wañuchina	no	no	es	ministerio	type of buildings
verb	change/switch	cambiana	yankina	no	no	es	ministerio	accomplishment
adjective	moved	cambiashca	yankishka	no	no	es	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	blouse	camisa	kushma	no	no	es	ministerio	clothing
noun	t-shirt	camiseta	unku	no	no	es	ministerio	clothing
noun	truck	camiun	pirillaña	no	no	es	nina	transportation
verb	to poop	ishpana	ishpana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	decompose/crush	ismuna	ismuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
noun	sweet potato	camote	apichu	no	no	es	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	bell tower	campana	llaksa	no	no	es	nina	Religion and believes
noun	land	pamba	pampa	yes	no	k	ministerio	agriculture and tools
verb	put/mix	jabina	hawina	no	no	k	ministerio	activity
verb	rub	jacuna	kakuna	yes	no	k	ministerio	activity

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	basket	canastu	ashanka	no	no	es	ministerio	home
noun	cancer	cancer	apankura	no	no	es	nina	illness
noun	field	cancha	x	x	x	es	x	people and activities
verb	rinse	jaguana	mayllana	no	no	k	ministerio	activity
verb	to prepare the land	jalmana	kiwana	no	no	k	ministerio	activity
noun	cinnamon	canela	akwa	no	no	es	nina	food and drinks
noun	popcorn	canguil	x	x	x	es	x	food and drinks
noun	marble	canica	x	x	x	es	x	agriculture and tools
verb	cure	jambina	hambina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	grab	japina	hapina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	sing	cantana	takina	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	canoe	canua	pikchiyu	no	no	es	nina	transportation
verb	prevent	jarcana	harkana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	recover	jariana	kariyana	yes	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	get up/lift	jatarina	hatarina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	sell	jatuna	katuna	yes	no	k	ministerio	activity
noun	chapel	capilla	apunchikwasi	no	no	es	ministerio	Religion and believes
verb	grow up	jatunyana	iñachina	no	no	k	nina	state
noun	capital	capital	shuknikichani	no	no	es	nina	country elements
noun	fruit	capulis	kapuli	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	texture, shape and flavour
verb	kick	jaytana	haytana	yes	no	k	ministerio	activity
noun	scab	caracha	izi	no	no	es	nina	illness
noun	candy	caramilu	añaka	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	food and drinks
verb	blame	juchachina	huchachina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
noun	coal	carbun	shinki	no	no	es	ministerio	agriculture and tools
noun	jail	carcel	wataywasi	no	no	es	ministerio	type of buildings
verb	spin	cardana	tisana	no	no	es	ministerio	state

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
verb	condemn	carguchina	hanatuna	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	accomplishment
noun	carnival	carnabal	x	x	x	es	x	Religion and believes
noun	folder	carpeta	x	x	x	es	x	school materials
noun	competition	carrira	kallpay	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	people and activities
noun	car	carru	antawa	no	no	es	ministerio	transportation
verb	fulfill	jundachina	huntachina	yes	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	fill	jundana	huntana	no	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	marry	casarana	sawarina	no	no	es	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	love	juyana	kuyana	no	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	punish	cashtigana	wanana	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
noun	tomorrow	kaya	kaya	yes	yes	k	ministerio	time
verb	frost	lanchana	lanchana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	swallow	langana	millpuna	no	no	k	ministerio	state
noun	dandruff	caspa	x	x	x	es	x	the body
verb	throw	lansana	kuynana	no	no	k	ministerio	state
noun	castle	castillu	pukara	no	no	es	ministerio	type of buildings
verb	obey	casuna	uyana	no	no	es	ministerio	accomplishment
noun	catapult	catapulga	x	x	x	es	x	people and activities
verb	tangle	liarina	pilluna	no	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	rip	liquina	llikina	yes	no	k	ministerio	state
noun	rubber	cauchu	palata	no	no	es	ministerio	agriculture and tools
verb	tangle	liyana	llikana	no	no	k	nina	state
verb	work	llancana	llankana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	crush	llapina	llapina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	sadden	llaquirina	llakirina	yes	yes	k	shimiyukkamu	feelings
verb	crawl	llucana	llukana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	undress	lluchuna	lluchuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
verb	leave	llucshina	llukshina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	lie	llullana	llullana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	call	cayana	kayana	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
verb	marry	cazarana	sawarina	no	no	es	ministerio	accomplishment
noun	helmet	cazcu	sillu	no	no	es	ministerio	modern tools
noun	grain	cebada	siwada	no	no	es	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	ID card	cedula	kikinyaripanka	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	modern tools
noun	sky blue	celisti	ankayu	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	colour
noun	cellphone	celular	karuyari	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	modern tools
noun	cement	cemento	rumikuta	no	no	es	ministerio	modern tools
noun	dinner	mirienda	shichinmikuy	no	no	es	ministerio	food and drinks
verb	brush	cepillana	llampuna	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
noun	beer	cerbeza	waspiti	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	food and drinks
verb	peel	llushtina	llushtina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	space out	lugariachina	chushukchina	no	no	k	nina	accomplishment
verb	strike	macana	makana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	drunk	machana	machana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	wash	maillana	maylla	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	taste	malina	mallina	yes	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	lend	mañachina	mañachina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	order	mandana	mantana	yes	no	k	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	dirty	mapayana	mapayana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	search	mascana	maskana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	pasture	michina	michina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	eat	micuna	mikuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
noun	vest	chalicu	yallinkash	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	clothing
noun	bush	chamiza	x	x	x	es	x	texture, shape and flavour

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
adjective	mandated	mingadur	minkak	no	no	k	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	assign	mingana	minkana	no	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	roast	chamuscana	rupachina	no	no	es	ministerio	state
verb	see	ricuna	wiñana	no	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	kiss	muchana	muchana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	love	munana	munana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	build walls	muruna	tisana	no	no	k	ministerio	activity
verb	dream	muscuna	muskuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	dizzy	muspana	muspana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	wet	mutiyana	hukchina	yes	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	rotate	muyuna	muyuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
noun	small guitar	charangu	x	x	x	es	x	people and activities
verb	comb	ñacchana	ñakchana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	hurt	nanana	nanana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	advance	ñaupana	ñawpana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	say/light	nina	nina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	stumble	nitijana	ñitkana	yes	no	k	ministerio	state
noun	wallet/purse	chauchera	istalla	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	clothing
verb	hide	pacana	pakana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	sunrise	pacarina	pakarina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	achieve	pactachina	paktachina	yes	no	k	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	find	pactana	paktana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	accomplishment
noun	goat	chibu	chita	no	no	es	ministerio	animal
verb	collect	pallana	pallana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	plant	pambana	pampana	yes	no	k	ministerio	activity
verb	be mistaken	pandana	pantana	yes	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	open	pascana	paskana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
verb	fold	patarina	patarina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	grow old	payayana	payayana	yes	yes	k	shimiyukkamu	state
verb	fish	pijina	challwana	no	no	k	ministerio	activity
verb	wrap	pilluna	pilluna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	shame	pingana	pinkana	yes	no	k	ministerio	activity
noun	fireplace	chiminia	wasipaku	no	no	es	nina	home
verb	weave	puchana	puchkana	yes	no	k	ministerio	activity
verb	save a left over	puchuna	puchuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	play	pucllana	pukllana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	blow up	pungina	punkina	yes	no	k	ministerio	state
adjective	puffy	pungui	punki	yes	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	sleep	puñuna	puñuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	walk	purina	purina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	break	quibina	kiwina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	speak in Kichwa	quichuna	kichuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	write	quilcana	killkana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
noun	joke	chisti	watukana	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	feelings
noun	driver	chofer	purichik	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
verb	approach	quimirina	kimirina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	excuse	quishpichina	kishpichina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	buy	randina	rantina	yes	no	k	ministerio	activity
verb	pluck	rapana	rapana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
noun	snow	rasu	rasu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	weather and temperature
verb	snow	razuna	ritina	no	no	k	nina	weather and temperature
verb	reduce	rebajana	urayay	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	state
verb	roll	rebolcana	sinkuna	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	activity
verb	claim	reclamana	manuchana	no	no	es	nina	state



Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	coat	chumpa	kunuklli	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	clothing
verb	wake up	riccharina	rikcharina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	meet	ricsina	riksina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	suck	chupana	hunkana	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
noun	underwriter	churadur	x	x	x	es	x	people and activities
verb	show	ricuchina	rikuchina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	watch	ricuna	rikuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	talk/claim	rimana	rimana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	go	rina	rina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	make/do	rrurrana	rurana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	grow up	rucuyana	rukuyana	yes	yes	k	shimiyukkamu	state
verb	burn	rupana	rupachina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	marry	sahuarina	sawarina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	rest	samana	samana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	thicken	sanguyana	sankuyana	yes	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	leave	saquina	sakina	yes	yes	k	nina	state
noun	sweet plant	cidrun	x	x	x	es	x	texture, shape and flavour
noun	corn leaf	sarafanga	sarapanka	yes	no	k	ministerio	agriculture and tools
verb	action of jealousy	cilana	tunpana	no	no	es	ministerio	state
adjective	jealous	cilusu	tunpakuk	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	feelings
noun	medicinal plant	cini	kuyuwaitay	no	no	k	shimiyukkamu	texture, shape and flavour
adjective	center	cintro	chawpi	no	no	es	ministerio	country elements
verb	close	circana	kinchana	no	no	es	ministerio	state
verb	hammer	clabana	tuksina	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
noun	class	clasi	hamu	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	school materials
noun	client	clienti	x	x	x	es	x	people and activities
noun	climate	clima	pacha	no	no	es	ministerio	weather and temperature

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	chlorine	cluru	yachuchi	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	modern tools
verb	charge	cobrana	chulkuy	no	no	es	nina	activity
noun	collaboration	colaborasion	yanapay	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
noun	snack/lunch	colacion	kukayu	no	no	es	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	stick	colana	lluta	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
noun	secondary school	colegio	unanchaywasi	no	no	es	ministerio	school materials
noun	cabbage	coles	winkulak	no	no	es	nina	food and drinks
noun	colour	color	tullpu	no	no	es	ministerio	colour
noun	colours	colorescuna	tulpukuna	no	no	es	ministerio	colour
noun	coma	coma	samay	no	no	es	ministerio	school materials
verb	suit	combenina	urmana	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	activity
noun	place where chickens eat	comideru	x	x	x	es	x	agriculture and tools
noun	company	compañia	x	x	x	es	x	people and activities
adjective	complete	complitu	paktakta	no	no	es	nina	quantity
noun	commitment	compromisu	hunichiy	no	no	es	nina	people and activities
noun	computer	computadora	sinriy	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	modern tools
noun	community	comuna	ayllullakta	no	no	es	ministerio	type of buildings
verb	focus	concentrana	huñuna	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	accomplishment
noun	doomed	condenashca	x	x	x	es	x	people and activities
noun	status/condition	condiciones	x	x	x	es	x	feelings
noun	confidence	confiansa	x	x	x	es	x	feelings
noun	freezer	congeladora	rasuyachik	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	modern tools
noun	advise	consejo	anya	no	no	es	nina	feelings
verb	advise	consijana	kunana	no	no	es	ministerio	accomplishment
noun	build	construccion	runana	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
noun	accounting	contabilidad	yupanak	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	people and activities
noun	accountant	contable	yupay	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	office activities

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	contact	contacto	kuskalla	no	no	es	nina	people and activities
noun	counter	contadora	yupak	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	office activities
verb	pollute	contaminana	llikichina	no	no	es	nina	state
noun	contract	contratu	ninakushka	no	no	es	nina	office activities
verb	convince	convencina	x	x	x	es	x	accomplishment
noun	couplets	copla	kachwa	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	people and activities
verb	harvest	cosechana	pallana	no	no	es	ministerio	accomplishment
noun	tickle	cosquilla	x	x	x	es	x	feelings
noun	cost	costa	yunka	no	no	es	ministerio	country elements
noun	ribs	costillas	waktatullu	no	no	es	ministerio	the body
verb	accustom/get used to	costumbrana	yacharina	no	no	es	ministerio	accomplishment
noun	custom	costumbri	yachashka	no	no	es	ministerio	Religion and believes
noun	believer	cric	iñikuk	no	no	es	ministerio	Religion and believes
verb	believe	crina	iñina	no	no	es	ministerio	Religion and believes
noun	cross	crus	chakata	no	no	es	ministerio	Religion and believes
verb	across	crusana	chimpana	no	no	es	ministerio	state
verb	crucify	crusificana	chakatana	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	notebook	cuadirnu	killkanapanka	no	no	es	ministerio	school materials
noun	picture	cuadru	shuyu	no	no	es	ministerio	home
noun	bucket	cubita	x	x	x	es	x	home
verb	poke	satina	satina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	come	shamuna	shamuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
noun	spoon	cuchara	wishina	no	no	es	ministerio	home
verb	get up/lift	shayarina	shayarina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	make/do	shinana	shinana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
noun	knife	cuchillu	kuchuy	no	no	es	ministerio	home
verb	throw	shitana	shitana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	elbow	cudu	kuchus	no	no	es	ministerio	the body
noun	story	cuentu	ñawparimay	no	no	es	ministerio	school materials
noun	body	cuerpu	aycha	no	no	es	ministerio	the body
noun	worm	cuica	kuru	no	no	es	ministerio	animal
verb	steal	shuana	shuwana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
noun	caregiver	cuidador	kamak	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
verb	care	cuidana	kamana	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	invoices	cuintas	kipu	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	office activities
verb	miscarry	shulluna	shulluna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
noun	snake	culibra	machakuy	no	no	es	ministerio	animal
verb	annoy	culirana	piñarina	no	no	es	ministerio	state
adjective	angry	culirashca	piñashka	no	no	es	ministerio	feelings
noun	anger	culiray	piñay	no	no	es	ministerio	feelings
verb	drain	shushuna	shushuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
noun	culture	cultura	kawsaychay	no	no	es	nina	Religion and believes
noun	buddy	cumbari	x	x	x	es	x	people and activities
adjective	shared/combined	cumbinishca	x	x	x	es	x	decisions and actions
adjective	fix	cumpunichishca	allichishka	no	no	es	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	community	cumunidad	ayllullakta	no	no	es	ministerio	country elements
noun	sister-in-law	cuñada	kachun	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
verb	give a name	shutina	shutina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
noun	condor	cundur	malku	no	no	es	nina	animal
verb	wet	shutuna	shutuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	wait	shuyana	shuyana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	stop	sicana	sikana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
noun	rabbit	cuniju	wallinku	no	no	es	ministerio	animal
verb	hang	sipina	sipina	no	no	k	ministerio	state

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	enemy	cuntra	awka	no	no	es	nina	Religion and believes
verb	contract	cuntratana	x	x	x	es	x	accomplishment
verb	control	cuntrulana	rikurayana	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	accomplishment
verb	wrinkle	sipuyana	sipuyariy	yes	no	k	shimiyukkamu	state
verb	sew	sirana	sirana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	lie down	siririna	siririna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	bloom	sisana	sisana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
noun	fee	cuota	churay	no	no	es	nina	office activities
noun	glass	cupa	shilla	no	no	es	ministerio	home
noun	cooperative	cuperativa	x	x	x	es	x	type of buildings
noun	priest	cura	umu	no	no	es	nina	Religion and believes
noun	lace	curdun	watu	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	clothing
adjective	curious	curioso	kurkuki	no	no	es	nina	decisions and actions
verb	ditch the land	surcuna	surkuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
noun	yard	curral	kincha	no	no	es	ministerio	agriculture and tools
noun	runner	curredur	kanchapunku	no	no	es	ministerio	agriculture and tools
noun	mail	curriu	chaski	no	no	es	ministerio	agriculture and tools
noun	course	curso	pata	no	no	es	ministerio	school materials
adjective	room	curtu	kutu	no	no	es	ministerio	quantity
verb	touch	tacarina	takarina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	wash	tacshana	takshana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	lecture	tacurina	takurina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	water (e.g., plants)	talina	tallina	yes	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	rain	tamiana	tamyana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	weather and temperature
verb	gather	tandachina	tantachina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	accomplishment
noun	bag	cushtal	kutama	no	no	es	ministerio	agriculture and tools
verb	pack	cushtalana	x	x	x	es	x	activity

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
verb	bake	tandana	tantana	yes	yes	k	nina	activity
verb	meet	tandanajuna	tantanakuna	yes	no	k	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	push	tangana	tankana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	ask	tapuna	tapuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	find	tarina	tarina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	sow	tarpu china	tarpu china	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	plant	tarpu na	tarpu na	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	meet	taunana	kimichina	no	no	k	nina	activity
verb	have	tiana	tiana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
noun	decree	decreto	illatupa	no	no	es	nina	office activities
verb	defend	defendina	x	x	x	es	x	state
verb	demand	demandana	x	x	x	es	x	accomplishment
verb	depend on	dependena	x	x	x	es	x	state
verb	deposit	depositana	wakay china	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	depository	deposito	tampu	no	no	es	ministerio	office activities
noun	breakfast	desayunu	pakarimikuy	no	no	es	ministerio	food and drinks
verb	download	descargana	kipinay	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	state
verb	parade	desfilana	x	x	x	es	x	activity
noun	disinfectant	desinfectante	x	x	x	es	x	modern tools
noun	deodorant	desoduranti	x	x	x	es	x	modern tools
noun	destiny	destinu	kawsapaktay	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	Religion and believes
verb	unaware	desvarina	tapyana	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	debt	dibi	manu	no	no	es	ministerio	office activities
verb	owe	dibina	manuy	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	assignment	dibir	kallpamanta	no	no	es	nina	Religion and believes
verb	draw	dibujana	hawina	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
noun	drawing	dibujo	sikichay	no	no	es	nina	people and activities

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	December	diciembri	kapak	no	no	es	ministerio	time
noun	finger	didu	ruka	no	no	es	ministerio	the body
noun	diet	dieta	sasikuy	no	no	es	nina	people and activities
noun	defect	dificto	waklli	no	no	es	nina	office activities
verb	get married	tiarina	tiyarina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
noun	dynamite	dinamita	x	x	x	es	x	modern tools
noun	right	dirichu	allawka	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
noun	disc	discu	piruru	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
verb	dress up	disfrazana	x	x	x	es	x	activity
adjective	custom	disfrazashca	x	x	x	es	x	decisions and actions
verb	dismiss	dispidina	kachana	no	no	es	nina	state
noun	document	documentu	tukrikillka	no	no	es	nina	office activities
noun	dollar	dolar	x	x	x	es	x	modern tools
noun	Sunday	domingu	hawkay	no	no	es	ministerio	time
noun	owner	dueño	chariyuk	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
noun	building	edificio	shayarichi	no	no	es	nina	type of buildings
adjective	polite	educadu	x	x	x	es	x	decisions and actions
noun	example	ejemplu	shina	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
noun	ice cream	elados	riti	no	no	es	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	election	eleccion	akllay	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	people and activities
noun	indigestion/full	empachana	akitana	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	the body
noun	commitment	empeño	sinchikuy	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	people and activities
noun	January	enero	kamay	no	no	es	ministerio	time
noun	can	enlatadu	antaska	no	no	es	nina	food and drinks
noun	salat	ensalada	hawchashka	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	food and drinks
verb	deliver	entregana	kuna	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
verb	burn	eructana	aknina	no	no	es	ministerio	state

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	writing	escritura	x	x	x	es	x	school materials
noun	Spanish	español	wirakucha	no	no	es	ministerio	school materials
noun	mirror	espeju	rirpu	no	no	es	ministerio	home
noun	candle	esperma	mayzana	no	no	es	nina	Religion and believes
noun	spike	espiga	tuktuy	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	Religion and believes
noun	spirit	espíritu	samay	no	no	es	ministerio	Religion and believes
noun	corner	esquina	kuchu	no	no	es	ministerio	country elements
noun	stadium	estadiu	x	x	x	es	x	people and activities
noun	student	estudiante	yachakuk	no	no	es	ministerio	school materials
noun	gospel	evangelico	x	x	x	es	x	Religion and believes
verb	avoid	evitana	x	x	x	es	x	state
noun	exam	examen	taripay	no	no	es	nina	school materials
noun	experience	experiencia	yachayni	no	no	es	nina	feelings
verb	encourage	faboresina	yanapana	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	factory	fabrica	usinikallanka	no	no	es	nina	type of buildings
noun	favour	fabur	yanapaway	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	people and activities
verb	come back	tigramuna	tikramuna	yes	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	use a scarf	fachalichina	x	x	x	es	x	activity
noun	scarf	fachalina	x	x	x	es	x	clothing
verb	return	tigrana	tikrana	yes	no	k	ministerio	accomplishment
noun	bill	factura	rantinpanka	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	office activities
adjective	false	falsu	llulla	no	no	es	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	miss	falta	hucha	no	no	es	ministerio	clothing
verb	miss	faltana	illana	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	dish	fanesca	x	x	x	es	x	food and drinks
verb	boil	timbuna	timpuna	yes	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	flick	tingana	tinkana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state



Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	February	febreru	panchiy	no	no	es	ministerio	time
noun	date	fecha	ayri	no	no	es	nina	time
noun	festival	feria	katunapampa	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	people and activities
verb	celebrate	festejana	raymiyachiy	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	accomplishment
verb	borrow	fiana	manupakuni	no	no	es	nina	accomplishment
verb	remove leaves	tipina	tipina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
noun	noodle	fideo	x	x	x	es	x	food and drinks
noun	party	fieshta	raymi	no	no	es	ministerio	Religion and believes
noun	shape	figura	shimikachi	no	no	es	nina	texture, shape and flavour
adjective	edge	filu	ñawchi	no	no	es	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
verb	pinch	tipsina	tipsina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	use a plant	tsinina	chinina	yes	no	k	nina	state
noun	cloth	findu	putyu	no	no	es	nina	clothing
verb	become	tucuna	tukuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	accomplishment
noun	signature	firma	aspik	no	no	es	nina	people and activities
verb	sign	firmana	aspina	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	patch	fiti	paki	no	no	es	ministerio	quantity
verb	burst	tuguiana	tukyana	yes	no	k	ministerio	state
noun	light source	foco	achikyachik	no	no	es	nina	home
noun	matchbox	fosfuro	iska	no	no	es	ministerio	modern tools
noun	picture	foto	rikchak	no	no	es	ministerio	home
verb	fry	friina	llichuina	no	no	es	nina	activity
adjective	fryer	friishca	x	x	x	es	x	decisions and actions
noun	forehead	frinti	tirku	no	no	es	ministerio	the body
adjective	fresh	friscu	chiriyachina	no	no	es	nina	texture, shape and flavour
noun	dish food	fritada	x	x	x	es	x	food and drinks
noun	fruit	fruta	wayu	no	no	es	ministerio	food and drinks

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	strawberry	frutilla	x	x	x	es	x	food and drinks
verb	burst	tuguiarina	tukyarina	yes	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	tear	tunirina	tuñirina	yes	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	shake/dance	tushuna	tushuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	smoke	fumana	sayrina	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
verb	work/run	funcionana	llankina	no	no	es	nina	accomplishment
noun	soccer	futbol	x	x	x	es	x	people and activities
verb	sunset	tutayana	tutayana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
noun	winner	ganadur	mishaniyuk	no	no	es	nina	people and activities
verb	win	ganana	mishana	no	no	es	ministerio	accomplishment
noun	desire	ganas	munaniy	no	no	es	nina	feelings
noun	tick	garrapata	akta	no	no	es	ministerio	animal
noun	gas	gas	yanta	no	no	es	ministerio	modern tools
verb	spend	gashtana	atichina	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	state
noun	expense	gashto	chijchay	no	no	es	nina	people and activities
noun	gastritis	gastritis	x	x	x	es	x	illness
noun	drawer	gavita	isanka	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	agriculture and tools
noun	twin	gimilu	apantin	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
noun	people	ginti	x	x	x	es	x	people and activities
noun	record	grabacion	x	x	x	es	x	modern tools
noun	grade	grado	parkay	no	no	es	nina	school materials
verb	graduation	graduana	x	x	x	es	x	state
noun	fruit	granadilla	tintin	no	no	es	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	grain	granu	murru	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	food and drinks
noun	foreign person	gringo	chuku	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
noun	flu	gripi	killawnki	no	no	es	nina	illness
verb	spin	ubillana	maytuna	no	no	k	nina	activity

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
verb	drink	ufiana	upyana	yes	no	k	ministerio	activity
verb	sneeze	ujuna	uhuna	yes	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	trick	umachina	umachina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
noun	glove	guantis	makillina	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	clothing
verb	give birth	unguna	unkuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	keep quiet	upallana	upallana	yes	yes	k	nina	state
noun	guard	guardia	watakuj	no	no	es	nina	people and activities
verb	get off	urajuna	urayana	yes	no	k	ministerio	state
noun	government	gubiernu	kamayukwasi	no	no	es	nina	type of buildings
noun	guide	guia	pushak	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
verb	guide	guiana	pushana	no	no	es	ministerio	accomplishment
noun	guitar	guitarra	tinkuya	no	no	es	nina	people and activities
noun	all	gulpi	tukuy	no	no	es	ministerio	quantity
verb	trick/lie	urmana	urmana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
noun	cap	gurru	tiwnkulli	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	clothing
noun	good	gushtu	malli	no	no	es	nina	feelings
noun	tool	herramienta	chanrara	no	no	es	nina	agriculture and tools
noun	hectare	hictaria	patsaktatkipampa	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	agriculture and tools
noun	iron	hierru	hillay	no	no	es	ministerio	agriculture and tools
adjective	stepson	hijastru	churitukuk	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	people and activities
noun	heritage	hirincia	kaki	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
verb	use	usana	mawkana	no	no	k	shimiyukkamu	state
verb	can	ushana	ushana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	drill	utujuna	sulukyachina	no	no	k	nina	activity
verb	listen	uyana	uyana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	listen	uyarina	uyarina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	tell	villana	willana	yes	no	k	ministerio	state

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
verb	gain	virayana	wirayana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	destroy	waglishina	wakllichina	yes	no	k	ministerio	state
verb	teach	yachachina	yachachina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	know	yachana	yachana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	melt	yacuyachina	yakuyachina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	melt	yacuyana	yakuyana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	enter	yaicuna	yaykuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	pass	yalina	yallina	yes	no	k	ministerio	accomplishment
verb	cook	yanuna	yanuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	add	yapachina	yapachina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	add	yapana	yapana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	cook	yanuna	yanuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	activity
verb	think/ remember	yuyana	yuyana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
verb	step	zaruna	saruna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	state
noun	year	huata	wiñay	no	no	es	ministerio	time
noun	church	iglesia	wakawai	no	no	es	ministerio	Religion and believes
verb	match	igualana	paaktachina	no	no	es	ministerio	accomplishment
noun	strainer	imbudu	hilpu	no	no	es	nina	home
noun	company	impresa	kallarikuy	no	no	es	nina	type of buildings
noun	tax	impusto	kichwi	no	no	es	nina	office activities
noun	lace	incaji	x	x	x	es	x	clothing
noun	vaccine	vacuna	yaychinay	no	no	es	nina	illness
noun	engineer	ingenieru	x	x	x	es	x	professions
noun	English	ingles	x	x	x	es	x	school materials
verb	persuade	inquitana	kushpachik	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	tool	instrumintu	hillay	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
verb	try	intentana	pitmina	no	no	es	ministerio	accomplishment

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	fee	interes	tiksu	no	no	es	nina	feelings
noun	internet	internet	x	x	x	es	x	modern tools
verb	invest	invertina	x	x	x	es	x	accomplishment
noun	research	investigacion	maskachakuy	no	no	es	nina	school materials
noun	envy	invidia	chikikuna	no	no	es	nina	feelings
noun	winter	inviernu	chirimita	no	no	es	nina	weather and temperature
noun	inviting	invitashca	x	x	x	es	x	people and activities
noun	equipment	iquipu	huñu	no	no	es	nina	modern tools
adjective	irresponsible	irresponsabli	makma	no	no	es	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	school	iscuela	yachanawasi	no	no	es	ministerio	school materials
noun	pen	isferu	killkana	no	no	es	ministerio	school materials
noun	bar	ishtancu	x	x	x	es	x	type of buildings
noun	tornado	acapana	akapana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	history	istoria	ñawparimay	no	no	es	ministerio	Religion and believes
noun	star	istrilla	kuyllur	no	no	es	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	tray	jaba	nuya	no	no	es	ministerio	home
noun	hair	accha	akcha	yes	yes	k	shimiyukkamu	the body
noun	soap	jabon	takra	no	no	es	nina	home
noun	light	achi	achik	yes	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	god daughter	achiguhua	achikwawa	yes	no	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	god mother	achimama	achikmama	yes	no	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	god father	achitaita	achiktayta	yes	no	k	shimiyukkamu	people and activities
noun	meat	aicha	aycha	yes	yes	k	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	family	aillu	ayllu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
verb	jump	jahuana	kushpana	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
noun	dog	alcu	alku	yes	yes	k	ministerio	animal
noun	early	aliura	tutamanta	no	no	k	ministerio	time

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	hammock	jamaca	x	x	x	es	x	home
noun	soil	alpa	allpa	yes	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	doctor/ shaman	jambidur	hampik	no	no	es	ministerio	professions
noun	several lands owner	alpau	allpayuk	yes	no	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	shoe	alpargati	ushuta	no	no	k	ministerio	clothing
noun	chewing	amulina	amullina	yes	no	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	skirt	anacu	anaku	yes	yes	k	shimiyukkamu	clothing
noun	garden/kinder	jardin	sisapampa	no	no	es	ministerio	agriculture and tools
noun	skunk	añas	añas	yes	yes	k	ministerio	animal
noun	bird	anga	anka	yes	no	k	ministerio	animal
noun	vase	jarru	kiza	no	no	es	nina	home
noun	stiff	angu	anku	yes	no	k	ministerio	animal
noun	lead	apac	kapak	no	no	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	seller	jatudur	katu	no	no	es	nina	professions
noun	soup	api	api	yes	yes	k	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	builder	armac	armak	yes	yes	k	shimiyukkamu	people and activities
noun	stinky	ashna	ashna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	a lot	ashta	ashta	yes	yes	k	ministerio	quantity
noun	mover	ashtadur	x	x	x	k	x	people and activities
noun	chief	jefe	kuraka	no	no	es	ministerio	professions
noun	a drink based on corn	asua	aswa	yes	yes	k	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	chicken	atalpa	atallpa	yes	no	k	ministerio	animal
noun	fox	atuc	atuk	yes	yes	k	ministerio	animal
noun	spirit/soul/devil	aya	aya	yes	yes	k	ministerio	Religion and believes
noun	flag	bandera	wipala	no	no	k	ministerio	modern tools
noun	Thursday	jueves	patma	no	no	es	ministerio	time
noun	juice	jugu	hilli	no	no	es	ministerio	food and drinks

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	July	julio	purun	no	no	es	ministerio	time
noun	July	juliu	purun	no	no	es	ministerio	time
noun	tear	biki	wiki	yes	no	k	ministerio	the body
noun	frog	billi	tzimbalu	no	no	k	shimiyukkamu	the body
noun	blessing	bindiciun	saminchay	no	no	k	shimiyukkamu	Religion and believes
noun	June	juniu	inti	no	no	es	ministerio	time
noun	violin	biolin	llikilliki	no	no	k	shimiyukkamu	modern tools
verb	swear	jurana	shimikuy	no	no	es	nina	state
noun	oven	jurnnu	watiyani	no	no	es	nina	home
noun	cane	biru	wiru	yes	no	k	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	scoop	bisha	wishiy	yes	no	k	ministerio	home
noun	salt	cachi	kachi	yes	yes	k	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	job	callamba	kallampa	yes	no	k	ministerio	home
noun	traditional pan	callana	kallana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	home
noun	roast corn	camlla	kamcha	yes	no	k	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	brick	ladrillu	tika	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	home
adjective	side	ladu	x	x	x	es	x	decisions and actions
verb	lick	lambina	llawana	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	book	camu	kamu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	home
noun	bite	canishca	kanishka	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	face	cara	kara	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	pencil	lapis	killinsa	no	no	es	nina	school materials
noun	rough	casha	kasha	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	can	lata	x	x	x	es	x	modern tools
noun	lesson	leccion	yachachiy	no	no	es	ministerio	school materials
noun	milk	leche	ñuñu	no	no	es	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	tree	lecheru	pinllu	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	lettuce	lechuga	piwi	no	no	es	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	spinach	ledo	killkarimashka	no	no	es	nina	food and drinks
noun	legalization	legalisacion	x	x	x	es	x	people and activities
noun	glasses	lentes	x	x	x	es	x	clothing
noun	lentils	lentija	x	x	x	es	x	food and drinks
noun	letter	letra	killka	no	no	es	ministerio	school materials
noun	stick	caspi	kaspi	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	pound	libra	pukchi	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	quantity
verb	deal/handle	lidiana	charirina	no	no	es	nina	state
verb	read	liina	killkakatina	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
verb	sand	lijana	x	x	x	es	x	activity
noun	lemon	limon	chirwa	no	no	es	nina	food and drinks
noun	line	linea	aspi	no	no	es	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	blender	liquadora	x	x	x	es	x	home
verb	blend	liquana	x	x	x	es	x	activity
noun	insect	catzu	x	x	x	k	x	animal
noun	sign	litriru	x	x	x	es	x	modern tools
noun	book	litru	turina	no	no	es	nina	quantity
noun	living being	causac	kawsak	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	survivor	causanajuy	kawsanakuy	yes	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	alive	causay	kawsay	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	alive	cawsac	kawsak	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	tomorrow	caya	kaya	yes	yes	k	ministerio	time
noun	worker	llancadur	llamkak	no	no	es	ministerio	professions
noun	stair	chaca	chaka	yes	yes	k	ministerio	home
noun	Andes cross	chacana	chakana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	home
noun	corn plant	chagra	chakra	yes	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour



Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	drink from a plant	chaguarmishqui	chawarmishki	yes	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
adjective	another	chaishu	chayshuk	yes	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	drink	champus	champus	yes	yes	k	shimiyukkamu	food and drinks
noun	key	llavi	tirani	no	no	es	nina	home
verb	close	llavina	wichkana	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	legalization	changa	chanka	yes	no	k	ministerio	the body
noun	foot	chaqui	chaki	yes	yes	k	ministerio	the body
noun	dryer	chaquic	chakik	yes	yes	k	ministerio	the body
noun	extra	chaucha	chawcha	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	witch	chificha	chipicha	yes	no	k	ministerio	Religion and believes
noun	animal	chiguacu	suksu	no	no	k	shimiyukkamu	animal
noun	plant	chilca	chilka	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	braid	chimba	chimpa	yes	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	fruit	chimbalo	chimpalu	yes	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
verb	achieve	lograna	utzarina	no	no	es	ministerio	accomplishment
noun	lottery	loteria	x	x	x	es	x	modern tools
noun	morning star	luceru	kuyllor	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	texture, shape and flavour
noun	fight	lucha	awkana	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	feelings
noun	crazy	lucu	utik	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	illness
noun	late	chishi	chishi	yes	yes	k	ministerio	time
adjective	spacious room	lugarlla	chushakyachiy	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	country elements
noun	evening	chishiana	chishiyana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	time
noun	mountain	urcu	urku	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	Monday	lunes	sullka	no	no	es	ministerio	time
noun	alone	chuclla	chuklla	yes	yes	k	ministerio	quantity
noun	sweetcorn	chucllu	chukllu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	hurt	chugri	chukri	yes	no	k	ministerio	feelings
noun	dry corn	chulpi	chulpi	yes	yes	k	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	machete	machete	zawli	no	no	es	nina	agriculture and tools
noun	belt for only woman	chumbi	chumpi	yes	no	k	ministerio	clothing
noun	skein	madeja	kawa	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	clothing
noun	stepmother	madrastra	mamatukuk	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	people and activities
verb	early morning	madrugana	tutapayana	no	no	es	nina	state
noun	intestines	chunlluli	chunchulli	no	no	k	ministerio	the body
noun	tail	chupa	chupa	yes	yes	k	ministerio	animal
noun	constructor	maistro	x	x	x	es	x	professions
noun	son	churi	churi	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
adjective	spoiled	malcriadu	x	x	x	es	x	decisions and actions
noun	snail	churu	churu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	animal
noun	bird	chushic	kukupa	no	no	k	ministerio	animal
noun	medium	malton	mallta	no	no	es	ministerio	quantity
noun	fly	chuspi	chuspi	yes	yes	k	ministerio	animal
noun	sky	cielu	hananpacha	no	no	k	shimiyukkamu	texture, shape and flavour
noun	snack	cucabi	x	x	x	k	x	food and drinks
noun	lake	cucha	kucha	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	pig	cuchi	kuchi	yes	yes	k	ministerio	animal
noun	rainbow	cuichi	kuychi	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
verb	drive	manejana	pushana	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
noun	girl	cuitsa	kuytza	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	mango	mango	x	x	x	es	x	food and drinks
noun	tube	manguera	x	x	x	es	x	agriculture and tools
noun	bracelet	manillas	makiwatana	no	no	es	ministerio	clothing
noun	money	culqui	kullki	yes	no	k	ministerio	people and activities

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	tablecloth	mantel	tsutuna	no	no	es	ministerio	home
verb	keep	mantenina	charirina	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	apple	manzana	x	x	x	es	x	food and drinks
noun	camomile	manzanilla	x	x	x	es	x	food and drinks
noun	now	cunan	kunan	yes	yes	k	ministerio	time
noun	neck	cunga	kunka	yes	no	k	ministerio	the body
noun	warm	cunu	kunuk	yes	no	k	ministerio	weather and temperature
noun	corn leaf	curpa	kurpa	yes	yes	k	nina	texture, shape and flavour
noun	machine	maquina	kallpayachak	no	no	es	nina	modern tools
verb	mark/carry	marcana	sananpana	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
noun	frame	marcu	x	x	x	es	x	modern tools
noun	Tuesday	martes	kulla	no	no	es	ministerio	time
noun	march	marzu	pawkar	no	no	es	ministerio	time
noun	dough	masa	pikañatu	no	no	es	nina	food and drinks
noun	corn cob	curunda	kurunta	yes	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	mask	mascara	sayña	no	no	es	nina	school materials
noun	husband	cusa	kusa	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	material	matirial	imakana	no	no	es	nina	school materials
noun	matrix	matris	maratiyana	no	no	es	nina	type of buildings
noun	may	mayu	aymuray	no	no	es	ministerio	time
noun	sock	medias	x	x	x	es	x	quantity
noun	measure	medida	tupu	no	no	es	ministerio	quantity
noun	mint	menta	x	x	x	es	x	food and drinks
noun	market	mercadu	kubachu	no	no	es	nina	type of buildings
noun	marmalade	mermelada	huchuk	no	no	es	nina	food and drinks
noun	table	mesa	pataku	no	no	es	nina	home
verb	petty	mesquina	x	x	x	es	x	state

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	meter	metro	tatki	no	no	es	ministerio	quantity
noun	electricity	micha	zirmay	no	no	es	ministerio	home
noun	smoke	cushni	kushni	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	grinding	cutashca	kutashka	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	west	cutinsuyu	intiyaykuna	no	no	k	ministerio	time
noun	medium	midiano	mallta	no	no	es	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	Wednesday	miercoles	haway	no	no	es	ministerio	time
noun	miracle	milagru	x	x	x	es	x	Religion and believes
noun	guinea pig	cui	kuy	yes	yes	k	ministerio	animal
noun	waterfall	faccha	pakcha	yes	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	leaf	fanga	panka	yes	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	break	faquina	pakina	yes	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	kid's mother	mamaguagua	yuyun	no	no	k	ministerio	people and activities
verb	need	minishtina	x	x	x	es	x	state
noun	need	minishty	muturiy	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
noun	ministry	ministerio	x	x	x	es	x	type of buildings
noun	minute	minutu	hayri	no	no	es	ministerio	time
noun	blow	fucui	pukuy	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	dinner	mirienda	chishinmikuy	no	no	es	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	mass	misa	wilkakna	no	no	es	nina	Religion and believes
noun	fog	fuyu	puyu	yes	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	child	guagua	wawa	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	kinder garden	guaguawasi	wawawasi	yes	yes	k	ministerio	type of buildings
verb	disturb	molestana	kushparina	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	monkey	mono	chichiku	no	no	es	ministerio	animal
noun	blackberry	mora	x	x	x	es	x	food and drinks

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
adjective	purple/ bruise	moradu	maywa	no	no	es	ministerio	colour
verb	murmur	mormurana	x	x	x	es	x	state
noun	corn for chickens	morochillu	x	x	x	es	x	animal
noun	dead person	guañushca	wañushka	yes	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	death	guayunga	watashka	no	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	soil ditch	huachu	wachu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	agriculture and tools
noun	cow	huagra	wakra	yes	yes	k	ministerio	animal
noun	millstone	muela	mmakiru	no	no	es	ministerio	the body
verb	fine/ticket	multana	x	x	x	es	x	state
noun	child	huahua	wawa	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	rocky cliff	huaicu	wayku	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	world	mundu	tiksimuyu	no	no	es	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	municipality	municipal	x	x	x	es	x	type of buildings
noun	city hall	municipio	llaktawkupikamaywas i	no	no	es	nina	type of buildings
noun	bunch	muntun	suntun	no	no	es	ministerio	quantity
noun	elbow	muquiti	chukmi	no	no	es	ministerio	the body
noun	bat	murcielagu	mashu	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	animal
noun	brother from brother	huaiqui	wawki	yes	no	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	necklace	hualca	walka	yes	yes	k	ministerio	clothing
noun	boy	huambra	wampra	yes	no	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	museum	museu	x	x	x	es	x	type of buildings
noun	moss	musgu	tuka	no	no	es	nina	texture, shape and flavour
noun	a lot of hair	huangudu	x	x	x	k	x	people and activities
noun	compost	huanu	wanu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	agriculture and tools
noun	dead person	huañushca	wañushka	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	woman	huarmi	warmi	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	back	huasha	washa	yes	yes	k	ministerio	the body
noun	house	huasi	wasi	yes	yes	k	ministerio	type of buildings
noun	tied	huatashca	watashka	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	gorge	huaycu	wayku	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	wind	huayra	wayra	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	jaguar	iahuar	yawar	yes	yes	k	ministerio	the body
noun	turnip	nabo	waylla	no	no	es	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	sun	indi	inti	yes	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	together	ishcandi	yanantin	no	no	k	ministerio	quantity
verb	swim	nadana	wampuna	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
noun	two	ishcay	ishkay	yes	yes	k	ministerio	quantity
noun	poop	ishpa	ishpa	yes	yes	k	ministerio	the body
noun	stick	ishtaca	watanakaspi	no	no	k	nina	agriculture and tools
noun	cliff	jaca	kaka	yes	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	daughter-in-law	jachun	kachun	yes	no	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	tongue	jallu	kallu	yes	no	k	ministerio	the body
noun	medicine	jambi	hampi	yes	no	k	ministerio	medicine
noun	hospital	jambiguasi	hampiwasi	yes	no	k	ministerio	type of buildings
noun	man	jari	kari	yes	no	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	blanket	jatana	katana	yes	no	k	ministerio	home
noun	cage	jaula	uruya	no	no	k	nina	agriculture and tools
noun	grass	jigua	kiwa	yes	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	Christmas	navidad	wilkawiñay	no	no	es	nina	Religion and believes
noun	blame	jucha	hucha	yes	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
verb	negotiate	negociana	x	x	x	es	x	activity
noun	business	negosio	hachakachi	no	no	es	nina	people and activities

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	grandniece	nieta	ushipak-ushi	no	no	es	nina	people and activities
noun	grandchild	nietu	churipakchuri	no	no	es	nina	people and activities
noun	snot	juña	kuña	yes	no	k	ministerio	the body
noun	corn cob	jupa	kupa	yes	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	worm	juru	kuru	yes	no	k	ministerio	animal
noun	fragile/lame	juyaipa	yaki	no	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	water source	larca	larka	no	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	November	nobiembri	ayar	no	no	es	ministerio	time
noun	nape	nuca	imahaykapi	no	no	es	ministerio	Religion and believes
noun	country	llacta	llakta	yes	yes	k	ministerio	country elements
noun	llama	llama	llama	yes	yes	k	ministerio	animal
noun	llama	llamingo	llama	no	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	number	numeru	chikatay	no	no	es	nina	quantity
noun	worker	llancai	llankay	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	tree	ocaliptu	ukalu	no	no	es	nina	texture, shape and flavour
noun	October	octubri	yaku	no	no	es	ministerio	time
noun	letter	oficiu	fanka	no	no	es	ministerio	office activities
noun	lowering	oraiman	chimchay	no	no	es	ministerio	Religion and believes
noun	organization	organisasion	walpachay	no	no	es	nina	office activities
noun	east	oriente	antisuyu	no	no	es	ministerio	country elements
noun	oregano	origanu	x	x	x	es	x	texture, shape and flavour
noun	vegetables	ortalisa	ataku	no	no	es	nina	texture, shape and flavour
noun	grass cutter	oses	ichu	no	no	es	nina	agriculture and tools
noun	a lot	llashac	llashak	yes	yes	k	ministerio	quantity
noun	left	lluqui	ichuk	no	no	k	ministerio	the body
noun	egg	lulun	lulun	yes	yes	k	ministerio	food and drinks

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	fight	macanacuy	makanakuy	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	been flour	machica	x	x	x	k	x	food and drinks
noun	wash	maillana	mayllana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	edge	makña	manya	yes	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	branch	malqui	mallki	yes	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	mother	mama	mama	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
verb	pay	pagana	x	x	x	es	x	activity
noun	country	mamallacta	mamallakta	yes	yes	k	ministerio	country elements
noun	pan	paila	tukuychinpu	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	home
noun	landscape	paisaji	pacharikcha	no	no	es	nina	texture, shape and flavour
noun	shovel	pala	hurku	no	no	es	nina	agriculture and tools
noun	word	palabra	shukshimi	no	no	es	nina	school materials
noun	palm	palma	llukawa	no	no	es	nina	the body
noun	dove	paloma	urpa	no	no	es	nina	animal
noun	pot	manga	manka	yes	no	k	ministerio	home
verb	scare	manllachina	manchachina	yes	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
adjective	dirty	mapa	mapa	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	hand	maqui	maki	yes	yes	k	ministerio	the body
noun	full hand	maquijunda	maytu	no	no	k	ministerio	quantity
noun	brother-in-law	masha	masha	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	shepherd	michidura	michik	no	no	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	kind of potato	millucu	milluku	yes	yes	k	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	pant	pantalun	wara	no	no	es	ministerio	clothing
noun	wool	milma	millma	yes	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	papaya	papaya	x	x	x	es	x	food and drinks
noun	Andes	paramo	puna	no	no	es	ministerio	country elements



Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
verb	talk/speak	parlana	rimana	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
noun	park	parque	sisapampa	no	no	es	ministerio	country elements
noun	parish	parroquia	kitilli	no	no	es	ministerio	country elements
noun	midwife	partera	wachachik	no	no	es	ministerio	professions
adjective	separate	partirishca	chikanyachiy	no	no	es	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	protest	paru	x	x	x	es	x	people and activities
noun	ticket	pasaji	rikruna	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	texture, shape and flavour
noun	assignment	mingay	minka	yes	no	k	shimiyukkamu	decisions and actions
noun	walk	paseo	purikacha	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	people and activities
noun	step	paso	sikani	no	no	es	nina	people and activities
noun	cake	pastil	tunhu	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	food and drinks
noun	pill	pastilla	murku	no	no	es	nina	medicine
noun	sweet	mishqui	akumishki	no	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	mestizo	mishu	mishu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	yard	patio	kancha	no	no	es	ministerio	home
noun	duck	pato	kulta	no	no	es	ministerio	animal
noun	boss	patrun	apu	no	no	es	ministerio	professions
noun	turkey	pavu	pawshi	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	animal
noun	cat	misi	misi	yes	yes	k	ministerio	animal
verb	kiss	muchana	muchana	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	kiss	mucha	mucha	yes	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	sin	pecadu	hucha	no	no	es	ministerio	Religion and believes
noun	movie	pelicula	x	x	x	es	x	modern tools
noun	pear	pera	x	x	x	es	x	food and drinks
noun	loser	perdidur	chinkij	no	no	es	nina	people and activities
verb	bite/itch	pican	kanina	no	no	es	nina	activity
noun	furniture	mueble	hurutmi	no	no	k	ministerio	modern tools

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	chest	pichu	kasku	no	no	es	ministerio	the body
noun	peak	picu	tapsa	no	no	es	ministerio	animal
noun	chicken corn	muruchu	muruchu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	dry corn cooked for 6 hours	muti	muti	yes	yes	k	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	seed	muyu	muyu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	turn	muyui	kinku	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	seed	muyundi	muyuntin	yes	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	face	ñabi	ñawi	yes	yes	k	ministerio	the body
noun	pineapple	piña	chiwila	no	no	es	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	brush	ñaccha	ñakcha	yes	yes	k	ministerio	the body
noun	lashes	ñahuimilla	ampura	no	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
verb	paint	pintana	llimpina	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
noun	painter	pintur	shuyukamayuk	no	no	es	nina	professions
noun	pipe	pipa	makma	no	no	es	nina	food and drinks
noun	cucumber	pipino	kachum	no	no	es	nina	food and drinks
noun	road/way	ñan	ñan	yes	yes	k	ministerio	country elements
noun	brother	ñañu	ñañu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	orange	naranja	laran	no	no	k	nina	food and drinks
noun	house builder	piun	llankak	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	professions
noun	blackboard	pizarron	killkanapirka	no	no	es	ministerio	school materials
noun	cloths iron	plancha	kanipu	no	no	es	nina	modern tools
verb	iron	planchana	kanipuna	no	no	es	nina	activity
noun	planet	planita	rumpu	no	no	es	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	sister	ñaña	ñaña	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	banana	platanu	palanta	no	no	es	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	dish/plate	platu	mulu	no	no	es	ministerio	home
noun	beach	playa	tsatsapampa	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	country elements

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	place	plaza	hawkeypata	no	no	es	nina	type of buildings
noun	person that creates problems	pletudur	piñak	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
noun	feather	pluma	patpa	no	no	es	ministerio	animal
noun	plumb	plumu	titi	no	no	es	ministerio	agriculture and tools
noun	police	policia	arariwa	no	no	es	nina	professions
noun	porter	porteru	arariwa	no	no	es	nina	professions
noun	inn	posada	minkachina	no	no	es	ministerio	type of buildings
noun	foal	potru	muya	no	no	es	ministerio	country elements
verb	practice	practicana	x	x	x	es	x	accomplishment
verb	show	precentana	rikuchina	no	no	es	ministerio	accomplishment
noun	pin	prendedur	tupu	no	no	es	ministerio	clothing
noun	presentation	presentacion	sakumay	no	no	es	nina	people and activities
noun	president	presidinti	pushak	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
noun	prisoner	prezo	watashka	no	no	es	nina	people and activities
noun	price	priciu	chani	no	no	es	nina	people and activities
noun	female cousin	prima	panay	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
noun	male cousin	primo	turay	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
noun	problem	problema	llaki	no	no	es	ministerio	Religion and believes
noun	product	producto	mirachishka	no	no	es	nina	food and drinks
noun	province	provincia	marka	no	no	es	nina	country elements
noun	project	proyecto	wakichi	no	no	es	nina	office activities
noun	test	prueba	taripana	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	school materials
noun	poor	pubri	tsunzu	no	no	es	ministerio	feelings
noun	eyebrow	ñavimilma	uyurki	no	no	k	ministerio	the body
noun	nothing	nima	manima	no	no	k	shimiyukkamu	quantity
noun	thick	ñutu	ñutku	yes	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	hole	utuju	huktu	no	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	hidden	pacalla	ukulli	no	no	k	nina	decisions and actions
noun	time	pacha	pacha	yes	yes	k	ministerio	time
noun	place	puestu	kuska	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
verb	push	pujana	hijana	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	dust	pulbu	allpa	no	no	es	ministerio	agriculture and tools
noun	lung	pulmun	surkan	no	no	es	ministerio	the body
noun	mother earth	pachamama	pachamama	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	stepfather	padrastru	ila-yaya	no	no	k	nina	people and activities
noun	burying	pambay	pampay	yes	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	highway	pana	hatunñan	no	no	k	shimiyukkamu	country elements
noun	honeycomb	panal	llachiwa	no	no	k	nina	modern tools
noun	dot/ end of the conversation	puntu	iñu	no	no	es	ministerio	school materials
noun	error	panda	panta	yes	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	mistake	panday	pantay	yes	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	sister	pani	pani	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	father	papa	papa	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	paw	pata	patak	yes	yes	k	ministerio	animal
noun	place	pushtu	kuska	no	no	es	ministerio	type of buildings
noun	animal	picuti	ukucha	no	no	k	ministerio	animal
verb	complaint	quejana	akañikuna	no	no	es	nina	state
noun	fish	piji	challwa	no	no	k	ministerio	animal
noun	cup	pilchi	akilla	no	no	k	nina	texture, shape and flavour
noun	fleas	pilis	pilis	yes	yes	k	ministerio	animal
noun	embarrassment	pingay	pinkay	yes	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	flea	piqui	piki	yes	yes	k	ministerio	animal
noun	wall	pirca	pirka	yes	yes	k	ministerio	home
noun	bird	pishcu	pishku	yes	yes	k	ministerio	animal

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	plant	planta	yura	no	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	string	pucha	puchka	yes	no	k	ministerio	clothing
noun	game	pucllai	pukllay	no	no	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	watershed	pucyu	pukyu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	pot	pundu	puntu	yes	no	k	ministerio	home
noun	quintal	quintal	x	x	x	es	x	quantity
noun	door	pungu	punku	yes	no	k	ministerio	home
adjective	sleepy	puñui	puñuy	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	belly button	pupu	pupu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	the body
noun	bean	purutu	purutu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	spoil	putsuju	pusku	no	no	k	nina	texture, shape and flavour
noun	poop	quicha	kicha	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	dentist	quirullancadur	chakmayuk	no	no	es	nina	professions
noun	Kichwa	quichua	kichwa	yes	no	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	cheese	quiso	x	x	x	es	x	food and drinks
noun	bird	quilicu	killiku	no	no	k	ministerio	animal
noun	moon	quilla	killu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	radio	radiu	anki	no	no	es	nina	modern tools
noun	x-ray	radiografia	x	x	x	es	x	modern tools
noun	yellow	quillu	killu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	colour
noun	hummingbird	quindi	kinti	yes	no	k	ministerio	animal
noun	buyer	randidur	katuk	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
noun	quinoa	quinua	kinua	yes	yes	k	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	bag	quipi	kipi	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	fox	rapusa	chakka	no	no	es	ministerio	animal
noun	portion	rasion	achuray	no	no	es	ministerio	quantity

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	tooth	quiru	kiru	yes	yes	k	ministerio	the body
noun	month	quiya	kiya	yes	yes	k	nina	time
noun	line	raya	seke	no	no	es	nina	texture, shape and flavour
noun	vagina	raca	raka	yes	yes	k	ministerio	the body
noun	party	raimi	raymi	yes	yes	k	ministerio	Religion and believes
noun	snow	rasu	rasu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	weather and temperature
noun	peer/match	riccha	rikchak	yes	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	fridge	refrigeradura	chiriyachina	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	modern tools
noun	gift	regalu	kamari	no	no	es	ministerio	modern tools
noun	region	region	shuyu	no	no	es	nina	country elements
noun	registration	registru	x	x	x	es	x	office activities
noun	rule	regla	tupuk	no	no	es	nina	school materials
noun	religion	religiun	apunchikamak	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	Religion and believes
noun	clock	reluj	pachachik	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	modern tools
noun	whirlpool	remolino	muyuna	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	weather and temperature
verb	answer	respondina	kutichina	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	magazine	revista	kawani	no	no	es	nina	modern tools
verb	pray	rezachina	mañana	no	no	es	ministerio	Religion and believes
noun	talk/speak	rimac	rimak	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	underarm	rrigra	wamani	no	no	k	ministerio	the body
noun	ear	rinrri	rinri	yes	no	k	ministerio	the body
noun	poncho	ruana	ruwana	yes	no	k	ministerio	clothing
adjective	straight	rictu	tziklla	no	no	es	nina	texture, shape and flavour
noun	stone	rumi	himaya	no	no	k	nina	texture, shape and flavour
noun	man/human being	runa	runa	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	watering	riegu	maklluy	no	no	es	ministerio	agriculture and tools
noun	underarm	rigra	kashuk	no	no	es	ministerio	the body

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	bush	sacha	sacha	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	rest	samai	samay	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	sambo	sambu	sampu	yes	no	k	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	kidney	riñon	washarurun	no	no	es	nina	the body
noun	shawl	rivuzu	lliklla	no	no	es	ministerio	clothing
verb	beg	rogana	huwanina	no	no	es	nina	state
noun	musical instrument	rondador	palla	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
verb	have some lightning	rrelampana	llinpiyana	no	no	es	nina	weather and temperature
noun	place	sanja	larkancha	no	no	k	shimiyukkamu	agriculture and tools
adjective	tousled	sapalla	sapalla	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	gravel	rripio	sharu	no	no	es	nina	agriculture and tools
noun	pumpkin	sapallu	sapallu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	food and drinks
adjective	unique	sapan	sapan	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	root	sapi	sapi	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	step	saru	chakikati	no	no	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	medicinal plant	ruda	x	x	x	es	x	texture, shape and flavour
noun	noise	ruidu	uyarikuk	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	people and activities
noun	sauna	sauna	sawna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	modern tools
noun	bias	sesgu	wistu	no	no	k	ministerio	agriculture and tools
noun	medicinal plant	rupa	waluk	no	no	es	ministerio	clothing
noun	busy/pause	shaijuna	shaykuna	yes	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	itch	shicshi	shikshi	yes	yes	k	nina	decisions and actions
noun	mouth	shimi	shimi	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	Saturday	sabado	tinki	no	no	es	ministerio	time
noun	aloe	sabila	x	x	x	es	x	texture, shape and flavour
noun	flavour	sabur	yachik	no	no	es	ministerio	feelings

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	robber	shua	shuwa	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	heart	shungu	shunku	yes	no	k	ministerio	the body
adjective	salty	saladu	kachikachi	no	no	es	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
verb	rescue	salbana	kishpichina	no	no	es	nina	accomplishment
noun	sausage	salchichas	x	x	x	es	x	food and drinks
noun	health	salud	allikay	no	no	es	ministerio	feelings
verb	greet	saludana	napaykuna	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	greeting	saludu	napaykuna	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	people and activities
noun	abortion	shullui	shulluy	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	silly	shunshu	muspa	no	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	pants made with animal fur	samarru	x	x	x	es	x	clothing
noun	name	shuti	shuti	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	mosquito	sancudu	x	x	x	es	x	animal
noun	appoint	shutichina	shutichina	yes	yes	k	shimiyukkamu	Religion and believes
adjective	named	shutichishca	shutishishka	yes	yes	k	ministerio	Religion and believes
noun	wet	shutu	shutu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	chair	silleta	tiyarina	no	no	k	ministerio	modern tools
noun	nail	sillu	sillu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	the body
noun	nose	singa	sinka	yes	no	k	ministerio	the body
noun	shoes	sapatus	ushuta	no	no	es	ministerio	clothing
noun	butt	siqui	siki	yes	yes	k	ministerio	the body
noun	frog	sapu	wallak	no	no	es	ministerio	animal
noun	sew	sirashca	sirashka	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	flower	sisa	sisa	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	sardine	sardina	chinlus	no	no	es	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	scabies	sarnna	isi	no	no	es	ministerio	illness
noun	pan	sartin	tukuychinpu	no	no	es	nina	home



Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	blond	sucu	suku	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	good	sumac	sumak	yes	yes	k	ministerio	feelings
noun	shadow	sumbra	llantu	no	no	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	onion	sebulla	x	x	x	es	x	texture, shape and flavour
noun	sector	sector	kuska	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	country elements
noun	seduce	seduci	witikuy	no	no	es	ministerio	feelings
noun	week	semana	sillkukis	no	no	es	ministerio	time
noun	waist	sintura	wikar	no	no	es	ministerio	the body
noun	brush	sepillo	llunku	no	no	es	ministerio	home
noun	September	septiembre	kuya	no	no	es	ministerio	time
noun	calm	sereno	sarpa	no	no	es	ministerio	feelings
noun	mountains region	serra	sallka	no	no	es	ministerio	country elements
noun	service	servicio	hayma	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
noun	serve	servina	yanapana	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
noun	fart	supi	supi	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	father	taita	tayta	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	rain	tamia	tamya	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	bread	tanda	tanta	yes	no	k	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	meet	tandanajuy	tantanakuy	yes	no	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	ask	tapui	tapuy	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	walking stick	tauna	tawna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	white bean	tauri	tawri	yes	yes	k	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	fruit	taxu	kullan	no	no	k	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	nut	tocte	tukti	yes	no	k	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	silly	tonda	pinkullu	no	no	k	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	plant	tsini	chini	yes	no	k	nina	texture, shape and flavour

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
adjective	mature	tuctu	tuktu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	final	tucuri	tukuri	yes	yes	k	ministerio	time
adjective	all	tucuy	tukuy	yes	yes	k	ministerio	quantity
noun	blind	tuertu	ñawza	no	no	k	nina	people and activities
noun	bone	tullu	tullu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	kitchen	tulpa	tullpa	yes	yes	k	ministerio	home
noun	brother from sister	turi	turi	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	mud	туру	туру	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	dance	tushuy	tushuy	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	night	tuta	tuta	yes	yes	k	ministerio	time
noun	sunset	tutaiana	tutayana	yes	yes	k	shimiyukkamu	time
noun	thread	ubillu	kururu	no	no	k	nina	clothing
noun	vegetable	uca	x	x	x	k	x	food and drinks
noun	chili	uchu	uchu	no	no	k	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	ash	uchufa	uchpa	no	no	k	nina	texture, shape and flavour
noun	weed	ucsha	ichu	no	no	k	nina	texture, shape and flavour
noun	inside	ucu	pitita	no	no	k	nina	home
noun	rat	ucucha	ukucha	yes	yes	k	nina	animal
adjective	alcoholic	ufiadora	upiak	no	no	k	ministerio	people and activities
verb	whistle	silvana	kiywina	no	no	es	nina	activity
adjective	week	simana	sillkukis	no	no	es	ministerio	time
noun	sneeze	uju	uhu	yes	no	k	ministerio	illness
verb	feel	sintina	kawllana	no	no	es	nina	state
noun	dry grass	uksha	uksha	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	head	uma	uma	yes	yes	k	ministerio	the body
noun	virus	unguc	unkuk	yes	yes	k	ministerio	illness

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	stitcher	siradura	rirak	no	no	es	ministerio	professions
noun	disease	unguy	unkuy	yes	no	k	ministerio	illness
noun	quiet	upalla	upalla	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	mountain	urcu	urku	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	servant	sirvienti	amaru	no	no	es	ministerio	professions
verb	serve	sirvina	ankushana	no	no	es	nina	state
noun	lice	usa	usa	yes	yes	k	ministerio	animal
noun	daughter	ushi	ushi	yes	yes	k	nina	people and activities
noun	system	sistema	allichiriy	no	no	es	ministerio	modern tools
verb	weld	soldana	chapiy	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	hat	sombreru	muchiku	no	no	es	ministerio	clothing
verb	happen	sucedina	tukuna	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	money	kulki	kullki	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	vacation	vacacion	hawka	no	no	k	nina	people and activities
noun	stomach	vicsa	wiksa	no	no	k	ministerio	the body
verb	sweat	sudana	humpina	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	mother-in-law	suedra	aki	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
noun	father-in-law	suedru	kiwach	no	no	es	nina	people and activities
noun	salary	sueldu	kullki	no	no	es	ministerio	office activities
noun	Friday	viernes	haycha	no	no	k	ministerio	time
noun	notice	villay	kutishka	no	no	k	nina	decisions and actions
noun	messages	villaycuna	willaykuna	yes	no	k	nina	decisions and actions
noun	fat	vira	wira	yes	yes	k	ministerio	the body
verb	suspend	suspendina	shayachina	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	tobacco	tabacu	sayri	no	no	es	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	cane	viru	wiru	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	wise man or woman	yachac	yachak	yes	yes	k	ministerio	Religion and believes

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	teacher	yachachic	yachachik	yes	yes	k	ministerio	professions
noun	water	yacu	yaku	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	melt	yacushpa	yakushpa	yes	yes	k	ministerio	the body
noun	noodles	tallarin	x	x	x	es	x	food and drinks
noun	stem	tallu	kallma	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	texture, shape and flavour
noun	drum	tambur	wankar	no	no	es	nina	people and activities
noun	blood	yahuar	yawar	yes	yes	k	ministerio	the body
noun	log	yamda	yanta	yes	no	k	ministerio	home
noun	increase	yapai	yapay	yes	no	k	ministerio	quantity
noun	entrance	yaycuna	yaykuna	yes	yes	k	ministerio	home
noun	baker	tandadur	tandamayuk	no	no	es	nina	professions
noun	team	yunta	yunta	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	vegetable	yuyu	yuyu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	corn	zara	sara	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	straw	zigzi	siksik	yes	no	k	ministerio	agriculture and tools
noun	tank	tanqui	zurun	no	no	es	nina	agriculture and tools
verb	cover	tapana	killpana	no	no	es	nina	activity
noun	wall	tapia	x	x	x	es	x	agriculture and tools
noun	cemetery	pantiun	ayapampa	no	no	es	ministerio	type of buildings
noun	taxi	taxi	x	x	x	es	x	transportation
noun	nest	tazin	kissa	no	no	es	nina	agriculture and tools
noun	loom	telar	awanakaspi	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
noun	telephone	telefono	uyariapamuk	no	no	es	nina	modern tools
verb	twisting	templarina	chutana	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	roof	ticho	wasikata	no	no	es	ministerio	home
noun	time	tiempu	karmapacha	no	no	es	nina	time

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
noun	tub	tina	x	x	x	es	x	home
verb	dye	tinturana	llimpina	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
verb	touch	tocana	takina	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
noun	tomatoes	tomati	chillu	no	no	es	ministerio	food and drinks
noun	nonsense	tontiras	muspalla	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	feelings
noun	tone	tonu	arawiy	no	no	es	nina	people and activities
noun	screw	tornillu	x	x	x	es	x	agriculture and tools
noun	tortilla	tortilla	llapinkachu	no	no	es	nina	food and drinks
noun	bird	tortola	kurku	no	no	es	nina	animal
noun	worker	trabajadur	llankapu	no	no	es	nina	professions
verb	work	trabajana	llankana	no	no	es	nina	activity
noun	tractor	tractor	antawahillay	no	no	es	nina	agriculture and tools
noun	tradition	tradicion	ñawpayachashka	no	no	es	nina	Religion and believes
verb	translate	tradusina	tikrachina	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
noun	shot	tragu	aswa	no	no	es	ministerio	food and drinks
verb	process	tramitana	pankana	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
noun	cheat	trampa	tuklla	no	no	es	ministerio	agriculture and tools
noun	quiet place	tranquilu	kasilla	no	no	es	ministerio	feelings
noun	dishes	trasti	x	x	x	es	x	home
noun	train	tren	antakuru	no	no	es	ministerio	transportation
noun	grain	trigu	waña	no	no	es	nina	texture, shape and flavour
noun	towel	tualla	chakllapintu	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	home
verb	play	tucana	aktuna	no	no	es	nina	activity
adjective	a lot	acha	achka	yes	no	k	shimiyukkamu	quantity
adjective	good	ali	alli	yes	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	tumor	tumor	chupu	no	no	es	ministerio	illness
noun	silly/stupid	tunda	antara	no	no	es	nina	feelings

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
adjective	kind	alicana	allikana	yes	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
verb	save	alichina	allichina	yes	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	tourism	turismo	x	x	x	es	x	people and activities
noun	tourist	turista	chikanllakta	no	no	es	shimiyukkamu	people and activities
adjective	smart	alihuma	yuyaysapa	no	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
noun	dancer	tushudor	tushuk	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
adjective	good	alilla	allilla	yes	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
adjective	slow	alimanda	allimanta	yes	no	k	ministerio	time
adjective	very good	alipacha	allipacha	yes	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
adjective	plain	aminda	aminta	yes	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
adjective	soft	amuc	amuk	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
adjective	blurry	ansa	amsa	yes	no	k	ministerio	weather and temperature
adjective	little	antsala	ashalla	no	no	k	ministerio	quantity
noun	cattail	tutura	x	x	x	es	x	texture, shape and flavour
noun	fruit	uayaba	sawintu	no	no	es	nina	food and drinks
noun	grape	uba	x	x	x	es	x	food and drinks
adjective	little	antsalagu	ashallaku	no	no	k	shimiyukkamu	quantity
adjective	guest	apamushca	apamushka	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
verb	force	ubligana	takmana	no	no	es	nina	state
adjective	apart	aparti	chikan	no	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
adjective	little	asha	asha	yes	yes	k	ministerio	quantity
adjective	very little	ashalagu	ashallaku	yes	no	k	shimiyukkamu	quantity
adjective	few	ashalla	ashalla	yes	yes	k	ministerio	quantity
adjective	a lot	ashtaca	yupachka	no	no	k	nina	quantity
adjective	more	ashtahuan	ashtawan	yes	yes	k	ministerio	quantity
adjective	more	ashta	ashtaka	yes	yes	k	ministerio	quantity
adjective	scrape	aspina	aspina	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
adjective	spirit/soul/devil	ayac	tani	no	no	k	ministerio	decitions and actions
adjective	pregnant	bicsayu	wiksayuk	yes	no	k	ministerio	people and activities
noun	scream/yell	caparic	kaparik	yes	no	k	ministerio	decitions and actions
adjective	sliced	capashca	kapashka	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decitions and actions
adjective	far	carupi	karupi	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decitions and actions
adjective	calm	casilla	kasilla	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decitions and actions
adjective	raw	chahua	chawa	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
adjective	mix	chapu	chapu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
adjective	dry	chaquishca	chakishka	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
adjective	rich	charic	charij	yes	no	k	shimiyukkamu	decitions and actions
noun	uniform	uniforme	x	x	x	es	x	clothing
noun	university	universidad	hamutaywasi	no	no	es	ministerio	school materials
adjective	split	chaupi	chawpi	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decitions and actions
adjective	pregnant animal	chichu	chichu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
adjective	lost	chingashca	chinkashka	yes	no	k	ministerio	decitions and actions
adjective	unlucky	chiqui	chiki	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decitions and actions
adjective	cold	chiri	chirik	yes	no	k	ministerio	weather and temperature
adjective	four	chuscu	chusku	yes	yes	k	ministerio	quantity
noun	hour	uras	muray	no	no	es	ministerio	time
adjective	empty	chushac	chushak	yes	yes	k	ministerio	quantity
adjective	liquid	chuya	chuya	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
adjective	liquid	chuyalla	chuyalla	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	gold	uru	kuriwallka	no	no	es	ministerio	agriculture and tools
adjective	warmer	cunuclla	kunuklla	yes	yes	k	ministerio	weather and temperature
adjective	warm	cunuj	rupak	no	no	k	ministerio	weather and temperature
adjective	happy	cushi	kuchi	yes	yes	k	ministerio	feelings

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
adjective	very happy	cushilla	kushilla	yes	yes	k	ministerio	feelings
adjective	delicate	dilicadu	chawcha	no	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
adjective	easy	facil	ushanalla	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
adjective	angry	fiña	piña	yes	no	k	ministerio	feelings
adjective	upset	fiñashca	piñashka	yes	no	k	ministerio	feelings
adjective	enchanted	fucushca	pukushka	yes	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
adjective	corn bug	gurguju	susu	no	no	k	shimiyukkamu	decisions and actions
adjective	gap	illan	pishi	no	no	k	ministerio	quantity
verb	vaccinate	vacunana	harkachay	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
noun	cost	valina	anchayupay	no	no	es	nina	Religion and believes
noun	value	valor	chanik	no	no	es	nina	Religion and believes
verb	value	valorana	chanichiy	no	no	es	ministerio	state
noun	wake	veloriu	x	x	x	es	x	Religion and believes
noun	deer	venadu	taruka	no	no	es	nina	animal
noun	blessing	vendisium	x	x	x	es	x	Religion and believes
noun	poison	veneno	miyu	no	no	es	ministerio	illness
noun	window	ventana	tuku	no	no	es	ministerio	home
noun	plant	yuyu	yuyu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
noun	travel	viaji	kuti	no	no	es	nina	people and activities
adjective	traveler	viajiru	purik	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
adjective	big	jatun	hatun	yes	no	k	ministerio	quantity
noun	neighbour	vicina	wasimashi	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
adjective	greedy	jillu	hillu	yes	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
adjective	beautiful	juyaylla	kuyaylla	yes	no	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
adjective	bad luck	kichik	kichki	yes	no	k	ministerio	quantity
adjective	soft	llambu	amuklla	no	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
adjective	sad	llaquilla	llakilla	yes	yes	k	ministerio	feelings



Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
adjective	naked	lluchu	lluchu	yes	yes	k	ministerio	the body
adjective	bald	lluchuma	lluchuma	yes	yes	k	ministerio	the body
verb	green	virdi	waylla	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
adjective	liar	llulla	llulla	yes	yes	k	ministerio	deceptions and actions
noun	smallpox	viruela	murunkuy	no	no	es	ministerio	illness
verb	visit	visitana	rikumuna	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
noun	widower	viudu	wakcha	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
noun	volume	volumin	puti	no	no	es	ministerio	people and activities
verb	fly	vulana	pawana	no	no	es	ministerio	activity
adjective	drunk	machashca	machashka	yes	yes	k	ministerio	deceptions and actions
adjective	beloved	munashca	munashka	yes	yes	k	ministerio	deceptions and actions
adjective	stupid	muspa	mushpa	yes	no	k	ministerio	people and activities
adjective	new	mushuc	mushuk	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
adjective	painful	nana	nanay	yes	no	k	ministerio	people and activities
adjective	above	ninan	ninan	yes	yes	k	ministerio	quantity
adjective	old woman	paya	paya	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
adjective	red	puca	puka	no	no	k	ministerio	colour
adjective	lazy	quillarucu	killa	yes	yes	k	ministerio	deceptions and actions
adjective	bloated	quipiyashca	kipiyashca	yes	yes	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
adjective	well know	ricsi	uyaykuy	yes	no	k	nina	people and activities
adjective	old man	rucu	ruku	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
adjective	burned	rupai	rupak	yes	no	k	ministerio	weather and temperature
adjective	pink	rusadu	waminsa	no	no	k	shimiyukkamu	colour
adjective	dense	sangu	sanku	yes	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour
adjective	similar	shinalla	shinallak	yes	no	k	ministerio	deceptions and actions
adjective	hard	shinlli	sinchi	yes	no	k	ministerio	texture, shape and flavour

Part of speech	English	Agualongo Kichwa	Unified Kichwa	Same_word	Same_phonology	Origin_AK	Dictionary_UK	Semantic field
adjective	wet	shutuc	shutuk	yes	yes	k	ministerio	weather and temperature
adjective	several	tauca	tawka	yes	yes	k	ministerio	quantity
adjective	skinny	tsala	tsala	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
adjective	all	tucuylla	tukuylla	yes	yes	k	ministerio	people and activities
adjective	small	uchila	sulkay	no	no	k	nina	quantity
adjective	tousled	umasapa	chirapa	no	no	k	shimiyukkamu	people and activities
adjective	silent	upa	upa	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
adjective	upside down	urai	uku	no	no	k	nina	directions
adjective	easy	ushanalla	ushanlla	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
adjective	fast	ushtia	utkay	yes	no	k	nina	quantity
adjective	above	vichayman	tsan	no	no	k	ministerio	directions
adjective	accustomed	yachachishca	yacharishka	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
adjective	exploited	yachashca	yachashka	yes	yes	k	ministerio	decisions and actions
adjective	more	yali	yalli	yes	no	k	ministerio	quantity
adjective	black	yana	llantu	no	no	k	ministerio	colour
adjective	hungry	yarja	yarkay	yes	no	k	ministerio	feelings
adjective	white	yura	yurak	yes	no	k	ministerio	colour